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ART IN SPAIN  
AND PORTUGAL



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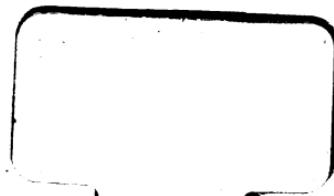
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# ART IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

# **ARS UNA: SPECIES MILLE**

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*Saint Michael, Fragment of the Reredos of Benavent.*  
(Province of Lerida.)

ARS UNA: SPECIES MILLE  
GENERAL HISTORY OF ART

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# ART IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

BY  
MARCEL DIEULAFOY

*Member of the Institut*



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## ERRATA

### Page.

77 l. 18, for "Berenger," read "Berengarius."  
114 title of Fig. 222, for "Santiago," read "Estella."  
148 l. 23, for "Alcada," read "Alcila."  
164 l. 27, for "Disputacio," read "Diputacio."  
189 title of Fig. 366, for "Santa," read "Santo."  
213 title of Fig. 413, for "Avila," read "Salamanca."  
215 l. 19, for "Ibarre," read "Ibarra."  
223 title of Fig. 432, for "Hôtel de Ville," read "Town Hall."  
227 l. 23, for "Beccera," read "Becerra."  
240 l. 9, for "Herrera," read "Hernandez."  
336 l. 19 for "de," read "at."



FIG. I.—KASR KHARANEH.

In the centre and the upper part of the façade, blind windows with the sacred *koma* on the panels.

(Phot. Rev. Père Savignac.)

## INTRODUCTION

IT may seem strange that the art-history of Spain and Portugal should begin on Iranian ground, at the time of the Sassanids, and that the study of the primitive mosques should serve as a preface to that of the western churches. I hope, however, to show in the course of the first three chapters that Persia was not only the source of inspiration of Musulman architecture, and of the so-called *Mudejar* architecture of Spain (*inf.* pp. 123, 151), but that she played an important and well-defined part in the elaboration of those religious themes which found their way into the Asturias, Castille, and Catalonia after the expulsion of the invaders, and were acclimatised in France at a later period by the Benedictines.

The West underwent a period of submersion and eclipse after the barbarian invasion. The only lights which illuminated the gloom shone in Byzantium and her rival, Sassanian Persia, round which satrapates as vast and numerous as in the days of the great kings gathered. Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Susiana, and Egypt were of the number.

Presently the Musulman hordes of Arabia rose, and, throwing themselves in their initial ardour upon Persia and its subject provinces, took possession of them. Their barbarity was speedily modified by education in schools which had received the teaching of the metropolis. From this time forth, the successors of Mahomet

## ART IN SPAIN

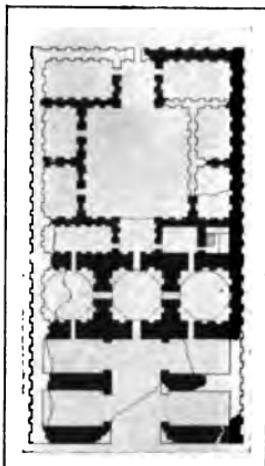


FIG. 2.—PALACE OF FIRUZ-ABAD.  
(See Figs. 17, 21.)

undertook the conquest of the world, carrying in their train artists, scholars and philosophers who scattered the Iranian seed wherever the Islamite warriors planted the standard of the Crescent.

At the beginning of the eighth century the Arabs, whose domination extended along the Mediterranean coast as far as the Pillars of Hercules, crossed the Straits of Gades, annihilated the Visigoth monarchy at Guadalete (A.D. 711), and invaded the Iberian peninsula. For nearly eight hundred years they were the masters of the whole country, or of a part of it. The arts, costume, language, literature, manners and beliefs of the vanquished were affected by this contact. The sons of Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Spain came to accept to a great extent the Musulman

tenets regarding marriage, and the characteristic compromise of the Koran touching the doctrines of divine prescience and free-will.

Among the buildings bestowed by the Arabs upon Spain were mosques. They appeared here in the forms they had taken in countries subject to the rule of the Ommiades, forms which were for the most part themselves faithful adaptations of Oriental churches (*inf. p. 31*). As to the models of the churches which the Musulmans had copied, these had been chosen from among the ordinary buildings of the country; in Persia, palaces or castles similar to those of Susiana and Fars (*inf. p. 35*), in Syria, monuments analogous to the Praetorium of Phœna (*inf. p. 27*). These churches presented the liturgical and consequently essential divisions of the western basilica; but they differed from this, in that they

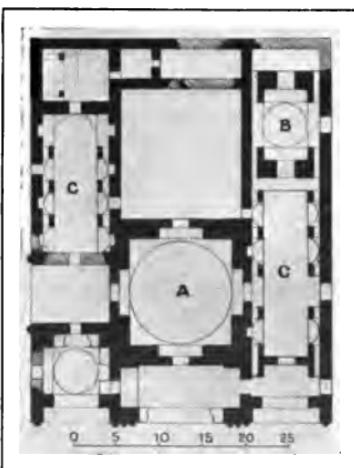


FIG. 3.—PALACE OF SARVISTAN.  
(Hall A, type  $\alpha$ . Hall B, *vari.  $\alpha\beta$* . Hall C, *vari.  $\gamma$* . See Figs. 23, 24, 26.)

## INTRODUCTION

were distinguished by the skilful system of vaulting which the scarcity of timber had obliged the natives to adopt. Soon (Chap. II) we shall see how easy it was to transform Persian palaces and Syrian monuments into Christian sanctuaries, and how little the Musulmans modified them, either for the celebration or the installation of their form of worship.

It is evident that there was an inter-action as between Iranian and Byzantine themes created under similar conditions, and reciprocal borrowings were the result, especially as regards Persian construction, and the iconographic painting of the Lower Empire. Nevertheless, for many reasons to which I shall revert, the mosques, the models of which were introduced into Spain by the Ommiades and the Persian governors during the first centuries of the occupation, were buildings of the Iranian type (*inf. p. 31*). Thus, the vaulted palaces of the Sassanian period, transformed into churches, and from churches into mosques, were reproduced in Musulman Spain in every form, and endowed with architectonic characteristics which make it impossible to confound them with buildings of other Oriental types, and notably, those of the Byzantine type.

At the period of the invasion, the Spaniards possessed religious monuments constructed on the model of the western basilica, with traits the introduction of which had been facilitated by the maritime relations of Spain and the Lower Empire. These sanctuaries were nearly all destroyed or appropriated. On the other hand, when the movement of reconquest began, it had its origin in the north of the Asturias and was set on foot by rude mountaineers. Hence the defenders of national independence were inclined to

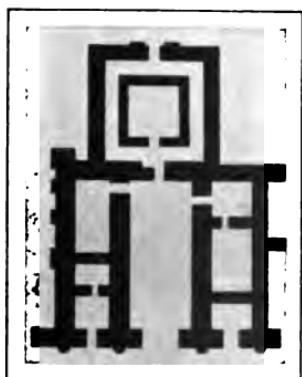


FIG. 5.—CENTRAL PART OF THE  
PALACE OF HATRA.  
(*vari. βγ.*)

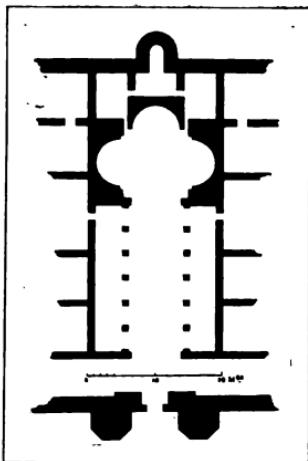


FIG. 4.—CENTRAL PART OF THE  
PALACE OF MSHATTA.  
(*vari. α' γ'.*)

## ART IN SPAIN

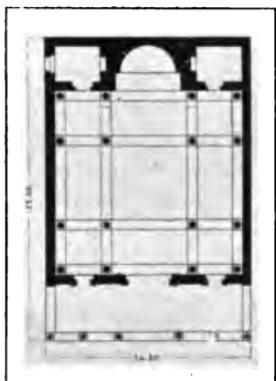


FIG. 6.—PRÆTORIUM OF PHœNA  
(NOW MUSMIEH).  
(vari. apd. See Fig. 66.)  
(M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*.)

Pyrenees, and merged later into the architecture of southern France, which found its way into Spain by way of Navarre and Galicia. The fate of the Catalan churches of the ninth century, remarkable specimens of which are still happily extant, was very different. As the territory on either side of the Pyrenees formed a homogeneous state, there was a constant interchange between France and Spain. This circumstance facilitated the exodus of Christian architecture. It spread beyond Catalonia, conquered the zones which the arts of Byzantium had not colonised, and contributed greatly to the constitution of those architectures in which Irano-Syrian vaulting makes its appearance, more particularly that of Cluniac architecture (*inf. pp. 96–98*).

I do not assert that we should recognise Persia and Syria as the original homes of French Romanesque art. But we may take it that the Latin basilican church followed two divergent routes on leaving Italy; one of these led it to Gaul and Spain, the other to Asia. In the latter case, transformed by contact with the Iranian East, it was introduced into Catalonia under the circumstances I have already mentioned, made some

combine the architectural traditions inherited from the Visigoths and from Rome with the constructive formulæ brought from Persia by the Musulmans. In their turn they underwent the almost mechanical effects of the penetration of invading civilisations into as yet barbarous centres, and I have already said how deep and general was the penetration of Islam into Christian Spain. To this fertile union we owe the religious architecture of the Asturias in the west, of Old Castille in the centre, and of Catalonia in the east (*inf. pp. 55, 64, 69–71*).

The architecture which was developed in the Asturias and a part of Old Castille was confined to the district south of the

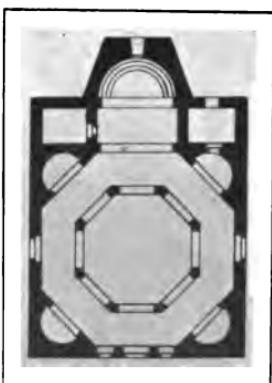


FIG. 7.—SAINT GEORGE OF EZRA.  
(vari. apd. See Fig. 67.)  
(M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*.)

## INTRODUCTION

sojourn there, and then penetrated into France, where it rejoined the Latin basilican church after accomplishing a circuit which had brought it to the boundaries of Chinese Turkestan. From this time forth, the primitive Latin type underwent a modification similar to that which the introduction of the Byzantine arts had impressed upon it in certain provinces of Italy and France, though

per-  
fectly  
distinct

from this. By a singular reflex, the modification specially due to Iranian influences, which had reached Catalonia, and thence had spread to Burgundy, traversed France from north-east to south-west, leaving magnificent traces of its passage, and arrived at the western extremity, and at the south of the chain it had crossed in the opposite direction a century earlier (*inf. pp. 100-103*).

It was in the famous churches

FIG. 9.—KASR EL MENAR (xi<sup>th</sup> c. *Prov. of Constantine*)  
(*Cupola of Type a, ambulatory of Type b*)

of Tarrasa, the heirs of the ancient Catalan basilica of Egara, that the period of gestation of Spanish Proto-Romanesque architecture was completed (*inf. pp. 69-71*); it was at Santiago de Compostela that Spanish Romanesque blossomed in all the splendour of its youth (p. 101). France, who interposed between these two stages, long retained the artistic direction of the schools whose natural luxuriance she had fertilised. Chapter IV

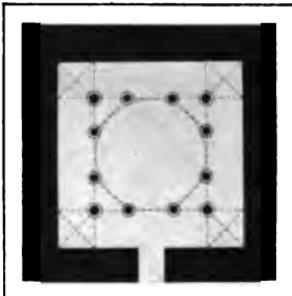


FIG. 8.—PALMA CASA FONT Y ROIG.  
(*vari. aβ*. See Fig. 175.)

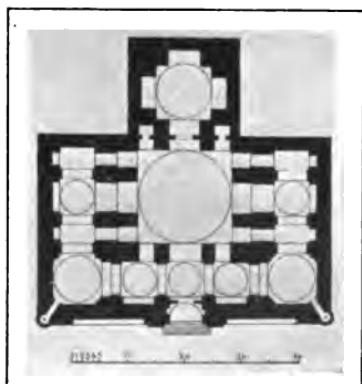


FIG. 10.—TAURIS. MOSQUE-CHURCH  
KNOWN AS THE BLUE MOSQUE (*vari. aβ*).

## ART IN SPAIN

will give the history of these early contacts. Those which follow will be devoted to the work thenceforth established, to the contributions of the foreigner, and to the radiation of the national genius beyond those frontiers which terrestrial upheaval and ocean abysses have assigned to Iberia.

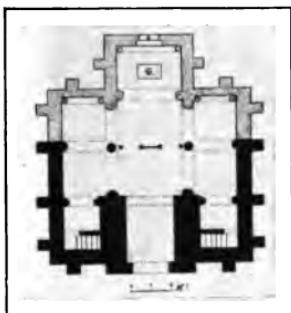


FIG. 11.—SAN MIGUEL DE LINO.  
(vari.  $\alpha\beta\delta$ . See Fig. 112.)

primitive vaulted Oriental buildings under three types and nine varieties:—

TYPE  $\alpha$ .—Cruciform plans with a dominant vault over the central space. (Ex.: Hall A in the Palace of Sarvistan, Figs. 3, 24.)

TYPE  $\beta$ .—Central space also covered with a dominant vault, but surrounded by an ambulatory, which, from the statical point of view, plays the same part as the arms of the cross. (Ex.:

With a view to brevity in the descriptions of buildings which will be necessary at the beginning of this work, I have classified

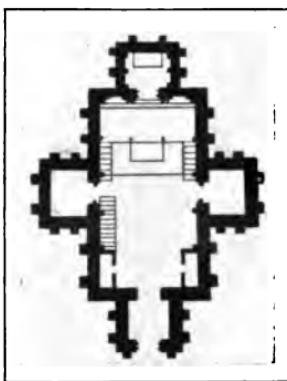


FIG. 12.—SANTA CRISTINA DE LENA (vari.  $\alpha\delta$ ) WITH THE ADDITION OF A PORCH.  
(See Figs. 118, 120.)

Central hall in the Palace of Hatra, Fig. 5, and of the Rasr el Menar, Fig. 9.)

TYPE  $\gamma$ .—Nave, buttressed by side aisles. (Ex.: Central hall of the Palace of Hatra, Fig. 5.)

*Variety  $\alpha'$ .*—Trilobate cruciform. (Ex.: Central hall of the Palace of Mshatta, Fig. 4.)

*Variety  $\alpha''$ .*—Cruciform, with exterior angles furnished with annexes which are not essential to the stability of the central vault. (Ex.: Byzantine type, Fig. 69.)

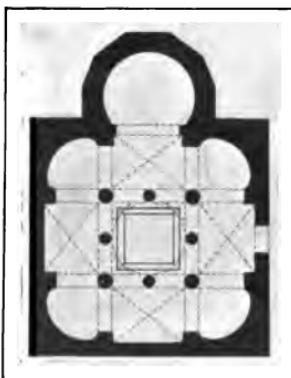


FIG. 13.—SAN MIGUEL TARRASA.  
(vari.  $\alpha\beta\delta$ . See Figs. 139, 140.)

## INTRODUCTION

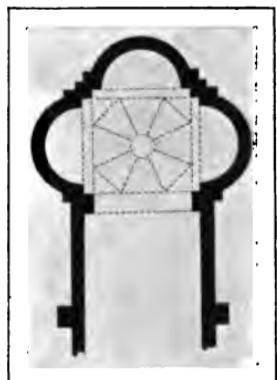


FIG. 14.—GERONA. SAN NICOLÁS.  
(vari.  $\alpha'$ . See Fig. 144.)

*Variety  $\beta'$ .*—Polygonal or circular variety, with ambulatory. (Ex. : Christian transcription, Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem ; Musulman transcription, Kubbet-es-Sahkra, Figs. 81, 83.)

*Variety  $\gamma'$ .*—Nave, buttressed by side aisles separated from the nave by arcades on columns. (Ex. : Halls C of the Palace of Sarvistan, Figs. 3, 23, and vestibule of the Palace of Mshatta, Fig. 4.)

*Variety  $\alpha\beta$ .*—Cross in a rectangle. The annexes of the exterior angles consolidate the piers which uphold the central vault. (Ex. : Hall B of Sarvistan, Figs. 3, 26.)

*Varieties  $\alpha\beta\gamma'$  and  $\alpha'\gamma'$ .*—Type of Christian church, with nave, side-aisles, and chevet. (Ex. : Halls C and B of the Palace of Sarvistan, Fig. 3, and central halls of Mshatta, Fig. 4.)

*Variety  $\alpha\beta\delta$ .*—Variety  $\alpha\beta$ , with the additions of the apse  $\delta$ , a porch like those of the Palace of Sarvistan (Fig. 3) and two annexes side by side with the apse. Type of a large number of religious buildings, Christian (Figs. 11, 13, 112, 140, 204) and Musulman (Fig. 10), of which the Armenian church (Fig. 15) is a schematic representation. (Ex. : Praetorium of Phœna, Figs. 6 and 66.)

*Variety  $\alpha\beta'\delta$ .*—Addition of an apse to the combination  $\alpha\beta'$ . (Ex. : Saint George of Ezra, Figs. 7 and 67.)

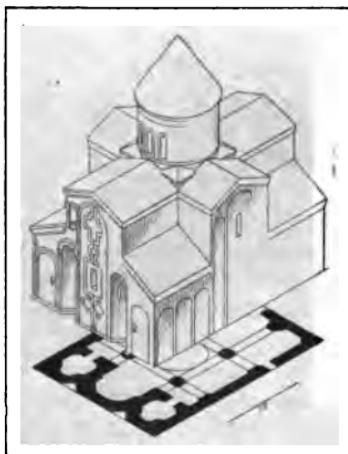


FIG. 15.—TYPE OF ARMENIAN CHURCH.  
(vari.  $\alpha\beta\delta$ . See Fig. 74 ; comp. Figs. 6, 66 ; 11, 112 ; 13, 140.)  
(Choisy, *Hist. de l'architecture*.)

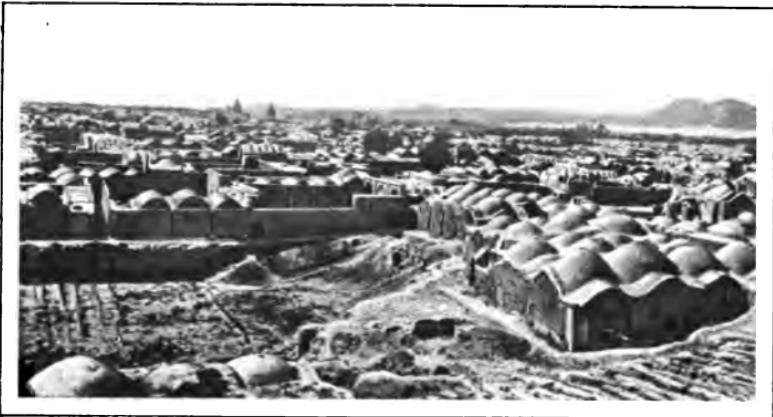


FIG. 16.—KUM. PANORAMA OF VAULTED PERSIAN HOUSES.  
(Author's Phot.)

## CHAPTER I

### THE PERSIAN ARTS UNDER THE SASSANIDS.

*Cupolas on Squinches; Exterior Abutment; Flying Buttresses; the Horse-shoe Arch; the proto-Gothic Ribbed Vault.—Military Architecture.—Works of Public Utility.—Bas-reliefs.—Paintings.—Minor Arts.—Vaulted Buildings of Central Syria.*

THE soil of Persia produces no timber, and, as the extremes of its climate are very great, the summer scorching, the winter intensely cold, its inhabitants applied themselves at a very early date to the construction of cupolas and barrel-vaults, which they turned without the aid of centering (Fig. 16).

The earliest of vaulted Persian buildings, the Palace of Firuz-Abad, is in Fars, to the south-east of Shiraz (Figs. 2, 17). Its mighty mass dominates an immense circus. In the middle of the façade is a porch 27m. 40 in depth by 13m. in width, flanked by four rectangular rooms. Beyond are three square rooms—14m. square by over 23 in height—then, in the axis, a large courtyard from which the less important rooms receive their light. The rectangular rooms are barrel-vaulted; the three square chambers are covered by ovoid cupolas on squinch arches (Figs. 18, 21.)

The salient characteristics of this building are, the simple and grandiose arrangement, which shares the majesty of the Achemenian palaces, and is in striking contrast to the coarsenesss of the

# THE PERSIAN ARTS UNDER THE SASSANIDS

execution ; the rhythmic outline of the ovoid cupolas with vertical main axes, of which there are earlier examples in Egypt ; the cupolas on squinch arches ; the arcading in the form of blind windows flanking the entrance and decorating the upper part of the façade ; the buttresses, consisting of arcades on pilasters and engaged columns, which stiffen and at the same time ornament the exterior faces of the walls (Fig. 19) ; the reduction of the capitals to simple abaci ; the doors and niches of the great halls (Fig. 21), where the semi-circular arch, sometimes a horseshoe struck from a single centre<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 82), is combined with a moulding in the Greek style, and a frame in the Egyptian style identical with that of the apertures in Persepolitan palaces (Fig. 20) ; cornices formed of a double fillet and a saw-tooth listel. The stability of the vaults is ensured either by adjacent structures, or by large voids in the thickness of the walls spanned by barrel-vaulting (Fig. 19). The weight of the vaults is consequently distributed upon the internal walls, while the external walls resist the horizontal thrusts.

A comparison of this building with Parthian structures of authenticated date such as the Palace of Hatra (Fig. 5) and the temple of Kingavar described below, as also the use of one of those Egyptian



FIG. 17.—PALACE OF FIRUZ-ABAD. PRINCIPAL FAÇADE RESTORED  
(Author's Drawing.)



FIG. 18.—PALACE OF FIRUZ-ABAD.  
CUPOLA ON SQUINCH ARCHES OVER  
THE GREAT HALLS.  
(Author's Phot.)

<sup>1</sup> The learned author distinguishes throughout this work between two varieties of the arch, which in England are known indifferently as "horse-shoe" arches. When this arch is struck from a single centre, M. Dieulafoy calls it an *arc outrepassé* ; when from three or five centres, an *arc en fer à cheval*. The translator will accordingly mark this distinction by a circumlocution where necessary. The illustrations will make it clear to the reader. [Tr.]



FIG. 19.—PALACE OF FIRUZ-ABAD. EXTERIOR, BUTTRESSES, DISCHARGING GALLERY, AND CUPOLAS OF THE GREAT HALLS.

(*Author's Phot.*)

journey to Babylon (*Philos.* i, 25), and implicitly by Strabo (xvi, 1, 5), while copies of cupolas upon squinches were made towards the second century B.C. at Bamian, between Persia and India. For reasons still stronger, it is out of the question to refer the building to the period of the Sassanids. Setting aside the facts that the construction of vaults achieved perfection under this dynasty (*inf.* p. 12-15), that the Sassanian style differs entirely from the Achemenian style (*inf.* p. 21), there is no instance of an alien ornament so characteristic as the frame of the doors in the Palace of Firuz-Abad re-appearing in the land of its adoption after a lapse of over seven hundred years.

The Palace of Hatra—on the right bank of the Tigris, 140 kilometres from Mossul—corresponds to a state of Persian architecture anterior to the year 116, when it was unsuccessfully besieged by the armies of Trajan. It occupies the centre of a circular enclosure of the Assyrian type, 2100m. in diameter, consisting of an outer wall, a moat, and a wall flanked by forty-two towers. The façade of the palace comprises a series of rooms in a line, among them a vestibule followed by a square hall (Fig. 5). The

motives introduced into Persia by the Achemenids and definitively abandoned after their downfall, show that the Palace of Firuz-Abad was of earlier date than the invasion of Alexander. This chronological limit cannot be combated by the presence of the cupola, since the very ancient use of this is attested by an Assyrian bas-relief (Fig. 22), by Apollonius of Tyana's narrative of a



FIG. 20.—PERSEPOLIS. DOORS OF THE LITTLE PALACE OF DARIUS.

(*Author's Phot.*)

## THE PERSIAN ARTS UNDER THE SASSANIDS



FIG. 21.—PALACE OF FIRUZ-ABAD.  
GREAT HALL, RESTORED.  
(Author's Drawing.)

arabesque, and pilasters crowned with acanthus leaves.

The progress accomplished in the art of building, evidenced by the total disappearance of all traces of the Egyptian style, indicates that the Palace of Hatra is very much later in date than that of Firuz-Abad, and consequently that the latter must be assigned to the period in which I have placed it. Examination of the Palace of Hatra suggests another remark. Its decoration, in its affinities with the construction of the Doric temple of Kingavar, and the geometrical ornaments in the Persian style of the temple of Baalbek, bears witness to the union which took place under the Parthian domination between the Iranian East and the Graeco-Roman West. The result was the creation of a hybrid art, that Hellenistic art whose home was Asia Minor, and whose influence Rome felt long before it had engendered Byzantine art. It penetrated not only into Coptic

latter, which was crowned by a cupola or a groined vault, is surrounded by an ambulatory. It shows the perfect accomplishment of the scheme tentatively indicated in Fars. The abutment walls are either of extra thickness, or have been consolidated by means of external buttresses. The Egypto-Persepolitan decoration of the Palace of Firuz-Abad is replaced by the bastard Greek decoration adopted under the Arsacide monarchs, who prided themselves on their Philhellenism, and by a few novel ornaments, such as heads in bas-relief on the voussoirs of the arches and the courses of the pilasters, a frieze covered with a vine forming a sinuous



FIG. 22.—LAYARD. ASSYRIAN BAS-  
RELIEF, HEMISPERICAL AND  
OVOID CUPOLAS.

## ART IN SPAIN



FIG. 23.—PALAIS DE SARVISTAN.  
GALLERY C (*vari. γ'*). BARREL  
VAULTS, BUTTRESSES ON COLUMNS,  
SEMI-CUPOLAS ON SQUINCH ARCHES.

(Author's Phot.)

cement of beaten earth, and coloured by the action of fire.

The Sassanian Palace of Sarvistan (between Shiraz and Firuz-Abad) comprises a porch, a great square hall, two galleries, and various rooms thrown out at the back. The walls are of small stones and the vaults of brick. The columns are of masonry, and have a square slab by way of capital (Figs. 23, 26). The cornices are composed of flat fillets and saw-tooth ornament. Whatever their constructive function, the great arches are ovoid. The square halls A, B, and the extremity of gallery C are covered respectively by ovoid cupolas (Figs. 24, 27) and semi-cupolas on squinch arches (cf. Fig. 25). The long rooms have barrel-vaults. Here again the stability of the vaults is due either to the support of various other parts of

Egypt, but into the heart of the Hedjaz, where it mingled with a Persian sediment derived from the period of the Achemenian domination. The Nabathæan tombs of Petra afford interesting samples of these composite themes.

The funerary chambers of Uarka also date from the Parthian period. They show the same mixture of Persian and Graeco-Roman motives, and in addition, pierced clerestories, the traceries of which are formed by interlaced circles and geometrical combinations, and decorative paintings on the walls and the shafts of columns, where red, green, yellow, and black chevrons alternate. Finally, in a monument older than the tombs, there are mosaics, formed of little terra-cotta cones, the points set in a



FIG. 24.—PALACE OF SARVISTAN. RIGHT SIDE.

(Author's Phot.)

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the construction, or to voids in the walls. These voids, far from being a timid and tentative feature, constitute a part of the internal decoration, and in the domed halls form deep arches, springing sometimes from solid masonry—this is arrangement A (type *a*, Fig. 3)—sometimes from abutments which are massive above, but bear towards the base upon smaller arches and free columns—this is arrangement B (vari. *aβ*, Figs. 3, 26)—while in the galleries C they become semi-cupolas connected by squinches in the form of fluted shells of the *pecten* species, and again bearing upon minor arches and isolated columns (vari. *γ*. Figs. 3, 23). Thanks to the semi-cupolas introduced into the construction of the two lateral aisles, the continuous thrusts of the barrel-vaults are partially concentrated on the abutments, and are further neutralised by the contrary thrust of the semi-cupolas, acting as flying buttresses. This is superior to the proto-Romanesque solution of Firuz-Abad and Hatra; it is the germ of the Gothic solution.



FIG. 26.—SARVISTAN. HALL B  
(vari. *aβ*). ARCHES ON COLUMNS  
AND AMBULATORY.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 25.—KASR KHARANEH. AT THE  
END OF THE HALL A SEMI-CUPOLA  
ON SQUINCH ARCHES.  
(Phot. Rev. Père Savignac.)

The Persian architects did not halt half-way. To the north-west of Susa, on the edge of Kerkha, I discovered another Sassanid palace, the Tag-e-Ivan, consisting of a long gallery, the cunning construction of which was a revelation. The nave, which was crowned in the centre by a cupola (Fig. 30), is divided into bays by arcs-doubleaux (transverse arches), bearing on their reins barrel-vaults normal to the axis of the building, while windows are introduced at the summit of voids pierced

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FIG. 27.—SARVISTAN. HALL A, CUPOLA ON SQUINCH ARCHES.

(Author's Phot.)

centuries later? It is interesting to add that the Tag-é-Ivan is built of large bricks of the Chaldeo-Persian type, that the small transverse vaults are built in thin layers, and consequently without any preliminary centering, and that the doubleaux are brought up by horizontal courses as far as possible, in order to reduce the dimensions of the single centering beam used in their construction.

Of the palace of Ctesiphon, the Tag-é-Kesra (*vaulted palace of the Sassanid*), built within a loop of the

Tigris, all that remained in 1882 was the façade, half of which has since fallen, a giant nave covered with a barrel vault ovoid in section, and the vestiges of eight lateral rooms which supported the central aisle (Fig. 34). The façade is strengthened by a network of shafts and arches on a core of wall, which diminishes in thickness as it rises in height. The columns have no capitals; they are generally in pairs, and engaged in a pilaster prismatic in section. The arches supported by the pilasters and the columns are divided into as many members as there are supports.

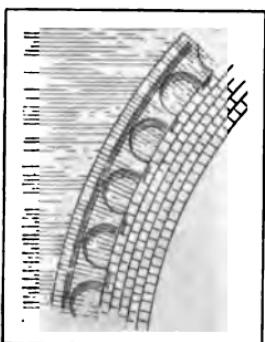


FIG. 28.—TAG-É KESRA. CUSPED ARCHIVOLT.  
(Author's Drawing.)

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The pointed and horse-shoe arches of some of the arcades, as well as the cusped decoration of the central arch, deserve mention. (Figs. 28, 34). The building is of brick. In spite of its vast dimensions the principal barrel-vault was constructed without centering. It was raised in horizontal courses to the limit of safety; then small arches of flat bricks, held in place by the adhesion of mortar, were turned (Figs. 28, 34; cf. Fig. 26). Finally, on this permanent centre new courses were laid, their materials placed normally at the heads and imbricated one into the other.

The palace of Mshatta (Fig. 4), 60 kilometres from the mouth of the Jordan in the Red Sea, offers the precious trefoil  $\alpha'\gamma'$  variety of Iranian plans. The great square hall is supported on three sides by hemicycles crowned with semi-cupolas, and on the fourth, by a nave and side-aisles with barrel vaults. At Kharaneh (Figs. 1, 25), and at Tuba (Fig. 35), in the same region as Mshatta, there are buildings more or less ruinous which closely resemble the vaulted palaces of Fars. All appear to date from the period when the country was a dependency of Sasanian Persia (inf. p. 26).

The castle of El Okhaidher, not far from Kerbela (on the right bank of the Euphrates), stands in a square enclosure measuring 170 metres each way, the dimensions of which recall the enclosures of Mshatta and of Kaleh-é Khosru. It is itself almost



FIG. 29.—TAG-É IVAN, GALLERY RESTORED.

(Prototype of the nave of Saint-Philibert at Tournus (Fig. 189) and of ribbed vaults.

(Author's Drawing.)



FIG. 30.—TAG-É IVAN, DOUBLEAUX (TRANSVERSE ARCHES), FORMERETS (LATERAL ARCHES), WINDOWS, SPRINGING OF MINOR ARCHES.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 31.—CASTLE OF EL OKHAIDHER. VESTIBULE FROM THE INTERIOR (*vari. y'*).

(Phot. Massignon.)

by the intermediary of arcades, upon the abaci-capitals of heavy masonry columns (Fig. 31). The fluted *pecten* shell which crowns the principal door and the external abutments of the walls which receive the thrusts are also noteworthy. Together with its barrel vaults and cupolas, its round-headed, elliptical, and ogival stilted arches, El Okhaidher has a groined vault and arcades in which the prototype of the Persian four-centred ogive makes its appearance (inf. p. 27).

Nevertheless, as a building of such importance must certainly have been undertaken during a period of great prosperity, and as it has numerous direct links with Sassanian monuments, it cannot be of later date than the end of the seventh century. It was no doubt built for a sovereign of Hirah, a vassal of Persia, or for one of the Persian governors imposed on the kingdom from 605 onwards, at the time

square (78 by 90 metres). In construction, it has much in common with the Tag-é Kesra, the palace of Sarvis-tan, and the Ksar Kharanéh: brick arches, ovoid barrel-vaults rising in horizontal courses to the limit of safety, and turned in the upper part without centering, arcades on columns, capitals reduced to abaci, profiled archivolts and semi-cupolas on squinch arches. In the great entrance hall, the reins of an ovoid barrel-vault rest,

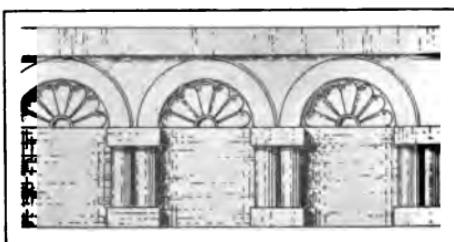


FIG. 32.—ABACI OF TWO OF THE CAPITALS IN FIG. 33.



FIG. 33.—CAPITALS OF TAG-É BOSTAN.

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FIG. 34.—TAG-È KESRA.  
(Author's Phot.)

Yemen, Hadramaut, Mahra, and Oman were subject to II. (591—628).

Tag-e-Bostan (on the road from Hamadan to Kermansha) had a hall, cut in the rock. The laureated archivolt of the arch and the winged Victories of the tympana are western in style. On the other hand, the capitals take the unusual form of a small pyramid (Fig. 33). On their four faces are carved the characteristic ornaments of the Sassanian style and the busts of royal and other personages. In addition, the abaci are ornamented with scenes on coupled columns, their bases and capitals reduced to slabs, while the filling of the arches is decorated with those reliefs noted at Sarvistan and at El Okhaidher (*sup. pp. 13, 14, p. 21*).

Sassanian monuments still to be described belong to the same period as the above. They are none the less instructive, either by reason of their extent or of their decorative character.

Such are the Kushtan, Khosru, the Shirin and the Hauch Kuri, and Derré-e-Sabz, to the north of Hamadan, in the western part of modern Persia.

Opposite to the north of Hamadan stands the



FIG. 35.—KASR TOUBA. FRAME OF THE DOOR. IN THE CENTRE A POLYLOBE ROUND AN EIGHT-RAYED STAR.  
(Phot. Rev. Père Savignac.)



FIG. 36.—SASSANIAN BRIDGE OF DIZFUL. ARCHES RECONSTRUCTED.  
(Author's Phot.)

palace of Rabbath-Ammān, which must be classed among the Sasanian buildings of the last period. The central court is preceded by a vestibule, and set among three of those open halls known in Persia by the name of *talars*. These have semi-cupolas on squinch arches. Their façades adorned with blind arcades (cf. Figs. 1, 17) on coupled columns, their columns, crowned by a simple abacus, and their archivolts composed alternately of square and saw-tooth mouldings, conform to the traditional types. On the other hand, the great arches, instead of being elliptical, take the form of an ogive slightly compressed at its springing, whereas the horse-shoe arch of Firuz-Abad and of Ctesiphon appears in the decorative arcades. Then, like the blind window-niches of Ksar Kharanch (Fig. 1), the arcades of the ground floor are clothed with sculptured embroideries, in which the vine and the sacred *homa* now ramble freely, now are enclosed in cusped squares.



FIG. 37.—FIGHT BETWEEN HORSEMEN.  
NAKHSH-E RUSTEM.  
(Author's Phot.)

From the earliest antiquity, Chaldaean military engineers had recognised that a fortress should not depend solely on the height and thickness of its walls, but further on a succession of obstacles presented to its assailants and on various defensive and offensive dispositions of its component organs.

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The Persians and Assyrians appropriated their methods, and perfected the application of them. At Susa, for instance, I traced three powerful concentric enclosures with an immense moat, and, no doubt, an advance-wall. The plan had redans, combined with projecting rectangular towers. The profile shows casemates at the foot, and a talus to cause projectiles to ricochet. At Kalatshergat

(Asshur) the Germans discovered slanting loop-holes, which, together with the *hours* and brattices reproduced on Assyrian bas-reliefs, helped to sweep the base of the walls. So excellent were the arrangements that they were copied in the west as well as in the east down to the invention of gunpowder, and even in Vauban's time the general principles of Chaldaean fortification still governed military architecture. It is unnecessary to state that the Sassanian fortresses proceeded directly from their predecessors. Striking proof of this is found in the castle of Okhaidher, which has all the perfected contrivances noted at Susa and Nineveh. After the defeat of the Emperor Valerian by Shapur (240-271 A.D.), the Persians had made a great many prisoners. There is a tradition that among these were engineers who helped to build the bridges of Dizful, and Shuster (Susiana). The piles of the bridge of Dizful, which are still



FIG. 38.—TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR OVER THE EMPEROR VALERIAN. NAKHSH-E RUSTEM.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 39.—PALACE OF MSHATTA. DETAIL OF THE STYLOBATE.  
(Phot. Grotesche Verlagsbuch Howleing.)

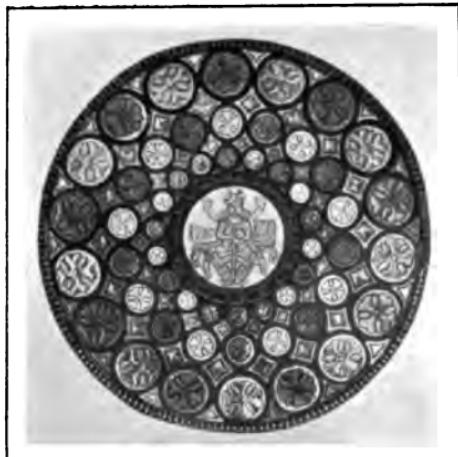


FIG. 40.—CUP OF CHOSROES.  
(Phot. Hachette.) (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

able (Figs. 37, 38). Most of these sculptures are at Nakhsh-é Rustom, near Persepolis, below the tombs of the Achemenids ; others are to be found at Shapur, on the road from Shiraz to the Persian Gulf. The Tag-é Bostan is also covered with bas-reliefs representing Chosroes II. (591—628) armed for battle, and hunting-scenes.

On these various works, the Persians are to be recognised by their mitres and enormous turbans, their wide trousers, voluminous wigs, and the *kosti* (ritual girdle, Yaçna, IX. 81). The floating gauffered ends of this essential item of costume, and also its flutter, a simplification of the *feruer* or winged genius, the lunar crescent (*mahrū*), and the solar disc which, under the last monarchs, crowned the royal head - dress, are equally characteristic of Sassanian costume (Figs. 37, 42, 43, 52).

None of these sculptures show reminiscences of Persepolitan themes. They are more akin to Roman bas-reliefs. Even the genius

standing, certainly reveal western influence (Fig. 36). But the irregularity of the barrage bridge at Shuster seems to preclude it. The science and the technical skill of the Persians is further attested by works of public utility such as their famous aqueducts (*canals*) their rock-hewn wells, and their admirable mountain-roads with sustaining walls, parapets, and abutments.

Figures in the round of the Sassanian period are rare and unimportant, but the rock reliefs are not-



FIG. 41.—COIN OF SHAPUR I.  
(Bibliothèque Nationale.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 42.—COIN OF CHOSROES.

(Bibliothèque Nationale.) (Phot. Hachette.)

dering differ essentially from Achemenian style and rendering. The decorative sculptor had a marked predilection for geometrical combinations of polygons and circles (Figs. 35, 40), for foliage, flowers, the vine, the sacred *homa* (Figs. 1, 44-47), the altar-flame (Figs. 40, 41), the *kostli*, the *feruer*, the *mahru* (Figs. 38, 40, 42, 43, 52), winged monsters, often confronting each other (Figs. 44, 47-49, 51, 52, 185, 186), the fluted shell (Figs. 23, 32, 33), fillets and archivolts with saw-tooth ornament (Figs. 1, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27). In general, he was discreet—save indeed, at Mshatta, and, it seems, at Tuba (Fig. 38)—and everywhere he scratched the surface of the stone or plaster delicately and seemed to take embroidery for his model.

Maçoudi speaks of admirable works—no doubt, frescoes—which adorned the sumptuous palaces of the Sassanids, and says that in the year 303 of the Hegira (A.D. 915), he saw a very fine manuscript containing twenty-seven portraits of Sassanian monarchs (twenty-five princes and two princesses), executed 190 years earlier from originals painted at the deaths of the models. This information, combined with that furnished by comparison of

of Egyptian origin, the protector of Achemenian royalty, is replaced by Winged Victories and Amors inspired by Græco-Roman models. Indeed, Sassanian Persia only remembers her past in cases where religion perpetuates the traditions of the monstrous Faun, and even in this instance, style and ren-



FIG. 43.—CHOSROES II HUNTING.

(Bibliothèque Nationale.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 44.—SILVER EWER  
(SIDE VIEW).

(Bibliothèque Nationale.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

Sassanian tissues (Figs. 48–52), with the ivories (Figs. 176–178), and stuffs (Figs. 185, 186), of the period of the Ommiades or the first Abbassids, show that Oriental painting and miniature art were also closely related to the Persian arts of the first centuries of our era. The unknown author of the Chronicle *Mojmal el tewarikh* (c. 1140 A.D.), also mentions a work called *Portraits of Sassanian Monarchs*, in which all the princes of the dynasty were represented.

Intaglios on hard stone were very numerous. Some served as seals, others entered into the composition of pieces of goldsmiths' work such as the celebrated cup of Chosroes (Fig. 40). In this the intaglios, encircled by a gold setting, form three concentric zones of floriated discs, alternately white and red, divided by



FIG. 45.—EWER OF PAULOWKA.

(Former Collection of the Grand Duke Alexis Smirnoff, Argenterie Orientale, fig. xlix.)



FIG. 46.—EWER OF HORYUJI  
(VIIIth C.). CHINESE COPY  
OF A PIECE OF SASSANIAN  
SILVER.

(Tokio Museum.)  
(Phot. Moreau Bros.)



FIG. 47.—SASSANIAN  
GOLDEN EWER, DECORA-  
TED WITH *cloisonné*  
ENAMEL.

(Treasure of Saint  
Maurice.)

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curvilinear quadrilaterals of pale green. In the centre, the King is represented on a throne supported by winged lions.

Darian coins and Parthian money had shown the influences of Greece. With the Sassanids, the coins took on a national character. The obverse shows the portrait of the king in an engrailed crown, the reverse, the altar-fire tended by magi. These coins are good in style from the time of Shapur (240-271) to the beginning of the sixth century (Figs. 40, 42); after this they decline, and become caricatural in the reign of Chosroes II (591-628). Throughout the Sassanian period they were very thin.

Silver plate—vases, ewers, goblets and dishes—(Figs. 43-46) were also decorated with sculptures in which animated beings and ornaments borrowed from the local flora were mingled.

The Sassanians do not seem to have made use of porcelain for facing walls in the usual manner. Perhaps it was considered too costly for modest households, too common for royal palaces (*inf. pp. 80, 81*).

There are certain glass objects which bear witness to very great skill. Among these is the cup of Chosroes (Fig. 40), a cup of the same pattern discovered in the ruins of Susa, some scent-bottles in transparent glass, others opaque, and veined with deep green, yellow, and dark blue. The Persians were also enamellers; of their skill in this art we have a magnificent evidence in a gold ewer, decorated with *cloisonné* enamels. (Fig. 47).

For a long time Sassanian materials were known only by their legendary reputation for beauty and richness. Roman and Byzantine patricians committed follies in order to procure them, and when the army of Heraclius defeated Chosroes II (628), and nine years later, when Ctesiphon fell into the hands of the Arabs, the conquerors took an immense booty of carpets and stuffs interwoven with gold and silver threads, and enriched with gems and pearls. The intrinsic value of these masterpieces condemned them to certain loss. But since attention has been directed to Persia, the treasures



FIG. 48.—SASSANIAN MATERIAL, SAINT URSLA, COLOGNE.  
(Kunstgewerbemuseum.)

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of churches have been examined, and have been found to contain Sassanian figured materials (Figs. 48, 50, 51) or copies of these materials (Figs. 52, 185, 186) the more precious because paintings are lacking. Towards the same period, some were also exhumed from Coptic tombs. All are refined in taste. The colour-scheme seems to have been very simple at first—a broken green, yellow ochre, and grey (Fig. 50). Later, ruby-red, golden yellow, and dark blue gleam beside olive-green, rusty blacks, and very delicate greys (Figs. 48, 51, 185, 186), always preserving that harmony, that rare and exquisite calm which was to be the inheritance of the Iranian weavers.

The Coptic stuffs found in Egypt are often divided into four kinds: Hellenistic, Persian, Byzantine and local. The Hellenistic stuffs—such as the Triumph of Bacchus, in the Musée Guimet in Paris—are easy to distinguish. Those in which the decoration is contained between horizontal lines are assigned to the second category, those in which it is enframed in lozenges or circles—especially

tangent circles—to the third, and those in which it is sprinkled over the surface to the fourth. This classification is arbitrary and disputable. The motives declared to be characteristic of Byzantine tissues were usual in Persia. The stuffs worn by the Susian archers show motives enframed in lozenges or circles, and very much later these arrangements reappear with



FIG. 49.—ROBE OF CHOSROES.

(From the bas-reliefs of Tag-e Bostan.)

(Kunstgewerbemuseum.)



FIG. 50.—SASSANIAN MATERIAL.

(Comp. Figs. 45 and 49.)

(Victoria and Albert Museum.)

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more variety and fancy, on the garments reproduced in the bas-reliefs of Tag-e Bostân (Fig. 49), in woven materials (Figs. 50-52), on the plaster of Shirvan and Derré-é Shar, on the Cup of Chosroes (Fig. 40)—notably the tangent circles—and on the capitals of Tag-e Bostan (Fig. 33). At the period of the Parthians and Sassanians, there was incessant interchange between Persia, India, and the Far East.

The Parthians had fought against the Romans with mail-clad cavalry. The Sassanians inherited the defensive armour of their predecessors, and protected face, neck, and shoulders by a network of mail hanging from the helmet. The swords represented upon the bas-reliefs of Nakhé-é Redjeb and Shapur are straight, broad and very long; the hilts are very large; the guards consist of cross-bars. It is possible that the pommel and cross-bars of the so-called sword of Charlemagne belonged to a Sassanian sword (Fig. 65). Their form, and to a still greater degree, their decoration—interlaced *kosti* and *feruer* (*sup. p. 20*)—is characteristic.

Such are the most notable traits of the Sassanian arts. Their importance, though considerable, was long under-rated. For it was at the moment when the successors of Shapur and Sassan reached the climax of their civilisation, when their sway extended over Western Asia and over Egypt, and when they were entering upon continuous relations with China and the Indies (Figs. 46, 52) that the ancient world, submerged under the waves of barbaric hordes, was about to reconstitute a new civilisation at the expense of the East and of Eastern vestiges still surviving in Europe.

\* \* \* \* \*

Misled by appearances, many writers have concluded that the origin of the majority of Persian vaults and plans is to be found in the West. The error is obvious. The Romans raised no vaulted



FIG. 51.—SASSANIAN MATERIAL FROM THE CHURCH OF SACKINGEN. SO-CALLED MANTLE OF ST. FRIDOLIN.

(Kunstgewerbemuseum.)

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FIG. 52.—STANDARD OF THE JAPANESE EMPEROR SHOMU (724-748.) A CHINESE COPY OF SASSANIAN MATERIAL.  
(Comp. Figs. 38, 42, 43, 48, 51.)

combinations, all of which include annexes grouped round a central space to neutralise the thrusts of the vault over this space, cannot be of Western invention either.

On the other hand, both by physical constitution and climate, some regions of Western Asia are closely akin to Persia. Their supply of timber is scanty, but in compensation they have quarries which yield fine slabs of stone. They accordingly borrowed from Persia the principle of the ribbed vault, of the cupola, square or polygonal on plan, and of structures designed to resist the thrust of vaults. Thus, in the Kasr-Kharaneh (p. 15, Figs. 1, 25), the imitation of such Persian buildings as Firuz-Abad (Fig. 17), Tag-e Ivan (Fig. 29), Sarvistan, and Tag-e Kesra (Figs. 28, 34), is flagrant. True, the builders, lacking brick, resorted to the expedient of cutting

buildings till after long contact with the Parthians. Vitruvius makes no allusion to them, and barely mentions the material of their skeleton, that baked brick, *coactus later*, which was itself brought to Europe from the East at a relatively recent date. Vaulted roofs were so unusual that in the construction of thermæ, he substituted for them a complicated system of tiled ceilings suspended on the beams of the timbering. Hence, it is evident that plans such as the cruciform plan  $\alpha$ , the trefoil plan  $\alpha'$ , the annular plan  $\beta$ , their varieties and



FIG. 53.—SO-CALLED SWORD OF CHARLEMAGNE. POMMEL ORNAMENTED WITH THE SASSANIAN *feruer* AND *mahru*.  
(The Louvre.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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stone into thin slabs. The same device had already been adopted in the palace of Firuz-Abad (Fig. 18).

As to the castle of Okhaidher (*sup. p. 15*), which is also an offshoot of Persian architecture, it affords an interesting variation of the ribbed vault of Tag-é Ivan, in so far as the transverse vaults (Figs. 25, 29) are replaced in the middle of the bays by little cupolas on squinches (Fig. 54). This solution, a classic one in Persian architecture, was afterwards to be adopted at Notre Dame du Puy (Fig. 190).

Finally, in Central Syria, where fine slabs of stone are abundant, the architect, instead of turning vaults from the arcs-doubleaux, united them by transverse slabs placed flat over the tympana, or in barrel form over the extrados. The same process was applied to cupolas octagonal on plan, such as the cupola of St. George of Ezra, completed A.D. 515 (Figs. 7, 67). On the other hand, the Syrian masters never had recourse to integral vaulted construction, nor to the cupola on squinch arches, nor to external buttresses, nor to horse-shoe arches, nor to other less important motives of Persian architecture. But as their buildings are works showing the utmost perfection of execution, and as the Praetorium of Phæna (now Musmieh) in particular, built between 160 and 169 A.D. (restoration or partial alteration of the roof took place before the sixth century) presents the definitive and very important type of cruciform buildings on columns, the groined vault forming cupolas over the arms of the cross, and from the arms of the cross over the angles (*vari. αβγ*, Figs. 6, 66; cf. Figs. 15, 74, 11 and 112, 13 and 140), we have grounds for associating Central Syria with Persia, and for attributing to her a part in the solution of certain problems of vaulting.



FIG. 54.—CASTLE OF EL OKHAIDHER. VAULT,  
INTERIOR (*comp. Figs. 25, 29*).  
(Phot. Massignon.)

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FIG 55.—VERAMINE. PERSIAN CHURCH-MOSQUE.  
(Author's Phot.)

## CHAPTER II

### THE CHURCH AND THE MOSQUE

*The Temple-Mosque.—The Church-Mosque.—Irano-Syrian Origin of the Oriental Basilica and the Church-Mosque.—Horse-shoe Arches; Polylobe Arches; Blind Window Arcading; Epigraphic and Geometrical Decoration; Fluted Shell Motive; the Abacus as Capital.—The Fortress.—Vaulted Architecture in Sicily, in Southern Italy, and in Lombardy.*

WHEN the Arabs invaded Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, they came in contact with peoples who had assimilated, in various degrees, the refined civilisation and the lofty culture of Iran. Still barbaric themselves, they were naturally inclined to model themselves upon those they had vanquished, and they propagated the arts of Persia in the countries which were successively converted to Islam. Certain vital traditions, appropriate to the climate and to the nature of the materials in general use, modified these, but without ever effacing the original traits. Thus the *mihrab* of Cordova (Fig. 56) and the Tomb of Mahmud at Bidjapur, the Alhambra of Granada (Figs. 383–387), and the Taj-Mahal at Agra (Fig. 57) are manifestations of the same constructive processes, show the same essential structure, the same horse-shoe arches, the same faïences, the same cupolas on squinch arches, the same network of geometrical figures, and bear witness to the same taste for polychromy, and a kindred choice of colours.

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FIG. 56.—CORDOVA. MOSQUE. NAVE. AISLES,  
MAKSURA, MIHRAB (see Figs. 80 and 90).

(Phot. Lacoste.)

Persia also exercised a direct or indirect influence upon Western architecture, which was occasionally very closely combined with Musulman architecture. Religious buildings offer an excellent field of study in this connection, in which we may follow the progress and measure the extent of this assimilation.

It is admitted that the first churches were built on the model of the

Roman basilica (Fig. 58), and that the first mosques were derived from Egyptian temples, or from the Syrian temples of the Hellenistic period. The Mosque of Amru (Figs. 59, 60), built A.D. 642, may, in spite of numerous alterations, be taken as the primitive type, which, in virtue of its origin, I will call the temple-mosque (Figs. 59, 60, 62, 63). It already contains all the constituents of the Musulman religious building, as: a rectangular court, the *sahn*, with colonnades opening upon it, and in the centre a fountain for ritual ablutions (Figs. 59, 63, 76, 78); an oratory corresponding to the deepest of the colonnades (Figs. 59, 60, 61, 64, 76), and the *mihrab* (Figs. 59, 65), which gives the *kibla* or orientation of Mecca, and is set in the wall of the oratory opposite the *sahn*. Near the *mihrab* stand a pulpit, the *mimber* (Fig. 65); the *dikka*, platforms where the readers of the Koran are placed, and *kursi*, desks for the sacred book.

The differences between the Western basilica-church and the

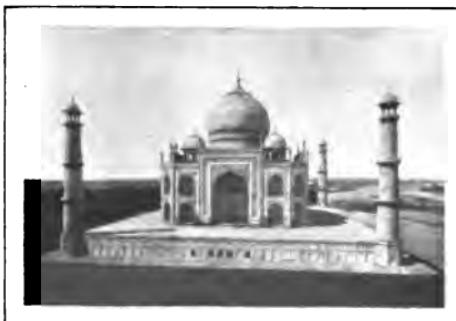


FIG. 57.—AGRA. TAJ MAHAL.

(Phot. Frith.)

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primitive temple-mosque are profound. But side by side with these two types, a third was created, which was adopted first by the Oriental Christians and then by the Moslems. It played an important part in the development of religious architecture.

In Persia, Mesopotamia, Judaea, Syria, and Egypt, and even in Chinese Turkestan, infant Christianity had struggled successfully against the national religions. As early as the fourth century, and even perhaps before, churches open to the public rose on all the territories subject to the Iranian monarchs. In 357-358, Saint Basil visited the monasteries of Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, and founded one, a little later, at Cæsaræa in Cappadocia. Now in the Christian districts of Susiana, of Fars, of Mesopotamia, of Central Syria, of the steppes of Lycaonia, and, generally, in all those Eastern countries where timber was scarce and little used, it had been impossible to copy the Western basilicas exactly. Neophytes were therefore led to choose among local types those best fitted for the exigencies of the new worship. They selected vaulted buildings akin to the castles of Fars, to the triple nave and trilobate hall of Mshatta (Fig. 4), the triple nave with three apses of Koseir Amra (Fig. 86), and the Prætorium of Phæna (Figs. 6, 66).

The outer porch of palaces

like Sarvistan or Mshatta, for instance (Figs. 3, 4), became a narthex; the lateral galleries were reserved for the women of the congregation; the men and the singers occupied the nave; the altar was placed in the centre of the end apartment, the sanctity of which was emphasised externally by its lofty dome (Fig. 24). As to the apse reserved for the bishop, and the two smaller apses



FIG. 58.—ROME. SAINT PAUL OUTSIDE THE WALLS.  
(Photo. Alinari.)

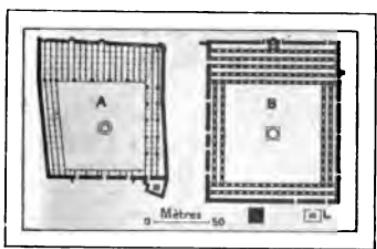


FIG. 59.—CAIRO. MOSQUE OF AMRU (A),  
AND OF TULUN (B).

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FIG. 60.—CAIRO. TEMPLE-MOSQUE OF AMRU.

and the vaulted churches of Lycaonia (now the province of Konieh), which preceded or followed the Islamic conquest by a few years only, are not so completely ruined but that we can recognise in them the imprint, sometimes faint, sometimes manifest, of ancient Persia, and the rudiments of themes used later in Europe. Finally, copies or descriptions of these first churches have survived. Such, on the one hand, are the ancient Byzantine (Fig. 69), and Coptic churches, the subterranean chapels of Gueureme (Fig. 70) and Soghanle in Cappadocia (from the eleventh to the twelfth century), certain churches of Lycaonia (Figs. 71 and 72), Cappadocia and Cilicia (Fig. 73), and, on the other, the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and, after Maçoudi had ranked it among the wonders of the world, the rotunda at Antioch, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Nor must we forget the Armenian

in which the liturgical books and sacerdotal ornaments were bestowed, they occupied the spaces covered with small arches or semi-cupolas which prolonged the aisles, or flanked the central halls on three sides, forming the summit and the two arms of a cross.

The triumph of Islam resulted in the transformation or the abandonment of the ancient churches. Divine service is, nevertheless, still held in one of them, St. George of Ezra (Figs. 7, 67), a building of a pronounced Iranian type; while the Praetorium of Phæna (Figs. 6, 66) which the Christians adapted to their worship as early as the third century,



FIG. 61.—DAMASCUS. GREAT MOSQUE.  
(Phot. Courtellement.)

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churches, such as the cathedrals of Ani, of Usunliar, the churches of Digor, of Trebizon, of Eshmiatzin, of Mokwi, of Pitzunda (Figs. 15, 74), nor the chapel of Akhpat (Fig. 75), where the organic groined cupola makes its appearance. All these were built in the tenth and the first years of the eleventh century, while the Caliphs of Bagdad, princes of Iranian descent, were granting their protection to the Pagratis. Although Byzantine influence sometimes makes itself felt in the details, these buildings show striking analogies with the Sassanian palaces, and the oldest Persian structures, and have preserved their distinctive original characteristics; the cupola square on plan, the organic, groined cupola, the blind windows, the external abutments, the panelling formed by rows of arcading with horse-shoe arches, the running patterns of foliage, and other designs comparable in style and effect to the decorative stone embroideries of Mshatta (Fig. 39), Tuba (Fig. 35) and Rabbath-Amman, the conical or pyramidal domes of the towers of Nakhtshevan, Kum, and Dameghan, the cruciform plan enclosed in a square and boldly marked on the outside by the projection of the central cupola and of the roofs (Figs. 15, 87).

FIG. 62.—CAIRO. INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF TULUN.  
(Phot. Delié and Béchard.)



FIG. 63.—SAHN OF THE MOSQUE OF TULUN.

(Phot. Courtellement.)

To sum up, vaulted Irano - Syrian buildings prior to the Hegira gave birth to six distinct forms of the Oriental vaulted building :

1. Cruciform nave with solid projecting abutments at the angles and cupola on squinch arches (Type  $\alpha$ ). Same nave with voids in the abutments and ambulatories (variety  $\alpha\beta$ ). The

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arrangement exemplified in the halls *A* and *B* of the palace of Sarvistan (Fig. 3).

2. Three connected naves, each terminating in an apse (variety  $\gamma\delta$ ) Koseir Amra.

3. Gallery covered (Type  $\gamma$ ), either with a barrel-vault (Firuz Abad, Fig. 2; Hatra, Fig. 5; Tag-é Kesra, Fig. 34, or with organic groined vaults (Tag-é Iran, Fig. 29; Kharaneh, Fig. 25; El Okhaidher, Fig. 31; Amra, Fig. 68), with or without buttresses and terminated by a rectangular choir of type  $\alpha$  or  $\beta$ , surmounted by a cupola on squinch arches, and by three rectangular apses. The arrangement exemplified in the right wing, *B*, *C*, of the palace of Sarvistan (Fig. 3).

4. Nave and side aisles separated from the nave by arcades (variety  $\gamma'$ ), trilobate apse, crowned by a cupola (variety  $\alpha'$ ). The arrangement suggested in the nave at Sarvistan (Fig. 3) and El Okhaidher (Fig. 31) and completely realised at Mshatta (Fig. 4).

5. Churches of the Armenian type (Figs. 15, 74), characterised by the cross in relief inscribed in a square, the central cupola on a drum, and an apse. The arrangement of variety  $\alpha\beta\delta$  as exemplified in the Prætorium of Phæna (Figs. 6, 66).

6. Polygonal or circular sanctuary with cupola, and vaulted ambulatory with or without apse (varieties  $\alpha\beta'$ ,  $\alpha\beta'\delta$ ). The arrangement exemplified in St. George of Ezra (Figs. 7, 67).

To the examples already quoted we must add the subterranean chapels of Cappadocia (Fig. 70), and the

FIG. 65.—KAIRWAN. MIHRAB OF THE GREAT MOSQUE.  
(Phot. Courtellement.)



FIG. 64.—KAIRWAN. INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE.  
(Phot. Valensi.)

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FIG. 66.—PRÆTORIUM OF MUSMIÉH  
(ANC. PHÆNA.)

(Plan, Fig. 6 ; vari. aβδ.)  
(Marquis de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale.*)

which do not seem to have destroyed their character ; the Great Mosque of Veramine—1322—(Fig. 55), the Blue Mosque at Tauris—1450—(Fig. 10), the *Medresses*, preserve the essential arrangements of the churches mentioned above : the vaulted porch followed by a square nave crowned with a cupola on squinches, galleries parallel to the nave in place of the side-aisles, the projecting *mihrab* instead of the apse, the *mimber* and *dikkas* for the readers of the Koran on the spots once reserved for the *ambo* and the *schola cantorum*.

The church-mosque, the essentially Persian type of which has just been defined, the temple-mosque, and the church itself, all included a court surrounded by porticoes and provided with a fountain. But in Persia the porticoes were vaulted, and the

Lycaonian churches (Figs. 71, 72).

When the Musulmans had conquered Persia, they experienced the same difficulties the Christians had already encountered in installing their worship. They accordingly either shared the use of the churches with these, or transformed the churches into mosques. Failing churches, they adapted buildings in the traditional form of the Parthian and Sassanian periods. It was thus that the *Mesdjid Djami* of Ispahan, rebuilt under the Abbassids (Fig. 76), those of Kazwin (dating from the first years of the Musulman era, according to Yakut and Abu Ishak el Istakhri, and rebuilt A.D. 786), and of Shiraz, founded A.D. 875, the restorations and modifications of

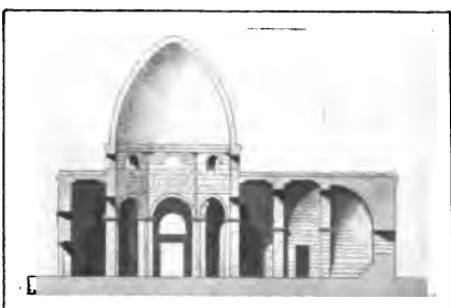


FIG. 67.—SAINT GEORGE, EZRA

(Plan, Fig. 7 ; vari. aβδ).  
(Marquis de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale.*)

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FIG. 68.—KOSÉIR AMRA. PRINCIPAL HALL.  
(*Comp. vaults of Ksar Kharâneh, Fig. 25, and  
Tag-è Ivan, Fig. 29.*)  
(*Phot. Rev. Père Savignac.*)

gated to the side, they terminate the church, and constitute the cloister.

Finally, the church and the mosque are alike distinguished by towers in which the Christian bells resound, or the voice of the muezzin summons the faithful to prayer. It is hard to say whether the minaret preceded the belfry, or the belfry the minaret. But I am inclined to think that the model of the square minaret of the mosque of Damascus (Fig. 77), was brought into Africa as early as the time of the Ommiades (Fig. 79). It penetrated into

Spain, was adopted in its Islamic form by Catalonia and Roussillon (Figs. 92, 142, 143, 200), and thence made its way into France and into the Rhenish provinces (*inf. 72, 75 and ch. iii.*).

The church - mosque very soon reacted upon the temple-mosque. The plan and suspension of the famous cupola of the Eagle in the mosque of Damascus (B.C. 707) are Persian in type. The great



FIG. 69.—CONSTANTINOPLE. SAINT SOPHIA  
(var. a').  
(*Phot. Sebah and Joaillier.*)

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mosque of Aleppo (rebuilt A.D. 976), inspired by the mosque of Damascus, bears like its model the trace of Iranian influences (Fig. 78). The central nave was subsequently enlarged, and dominated the others; the entrance was indicated by a door with a cupola over it; a dome, the loftier because it rested on squinches in the Iranian style, marked the hall of the *mihrab* (Figs. 78, 79). At the beginning of the eleventh century a final modification brought about a closer union between the mosque and the Oriental church. It consisted of the erection of a partition, which, imitating the iconostasis, encloses and isolates the *maksura* reserved for the celebrants.

Successive modifications so far transformed the primitive appearance of the *temple-mosque*, that in the mosque of Cordova, for instance (inf. p. 83), the central nave of greater width than the side-aisles, the *maksura* divided transversally into three sections, dominated in the centre by a cupola and closed by a partition, and then the *mihrab* projecting strongly upon the *maksura*, are substituted, element for element, for the nave, the transept, the iconostasis and the apse of an Oriental basilica (Figs. 56, 80). In this connection, we may further note the plan of the *mihrab*, the horse-shoe arch characteristic of the subterranean chapels of Cappadocia (Fig. 70), and of certain apses of the churches of Lycaonia (Figs. 71, 72).



FIG. 70.—GUEURÉMÉ. SUBTERRANEAN CHAPEL OF TOKALE. NAVE AND ICONOSTASIS.

(Phot. Rev. Père Jerphanion.)



FIG. 71.—SIVRI HISSAR (Type a; sup. pp. 6, 33). (Phot. Miss G. L. Bell, "The Thousand and One Churches.")

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Among primitive mosques we must also include the celebrated Kubbet-es-Sakhra or Mosque of Omar (690-707 A.D.) and the Kubbet-es-Silsileh (Figs. 81 and 83) which correspond in Musulman architecture to the type of Christian buildings with a central sanctuary, either circular or polygonal, and an ambulatory (variety  $\beta'$ ), features which seem to have made their appearance at a very early date in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the church of the Virgin at Antioch.

A further proof of the common origin of the Oriental vaulted church and the church-mosques is to be deduced from the common use made by their architects of constructive formulae and decorative themes borrowed from Persia. These are: the cupola on squinches, external buttresses, vaults and columns of brick, or failing this, of thin slabs of stone, the abacus used as a capital, decorative arcing, the division of archivolts into

as many members as the clustered supports, and sanctuaries forming a surmounted arch on plan. These motives recur, indeed, not only in the monuments of Sāmarrā, Abu-Dolaf, El Ashik (Mesopotamia, ninth century), and Racca (the ancient Nicephorium, near Edessa, ninth century), in the great mosques of Damascus, Jerusalem, Kairwan, Cordova (eighth and ninth centuries), but in the churches built between the fifth and tenth centuries in Central Syria, Lycaonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Egypt, Armenia, and with certain variations, in the Lower Empire (cf. Figs. 56, 61, 64, 79, 80, 171 with Figs. 67, 70, 74).



FIG. 73.—KARA KILISSA (Type a).  
CUPOLA ON SQUINCHES.

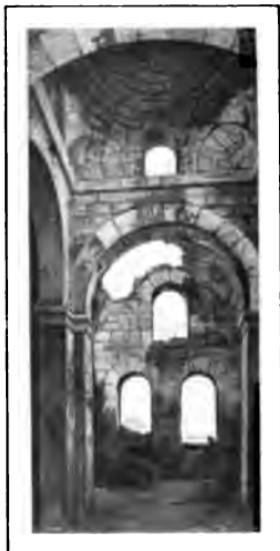


FIG. 72.—SIVRI HISSAR. NORTH TRANSEPT.

Characteristics: cupola on squinches, wide arches, and apse forming horse-shoe arch on plan.

(Phot. Miss G. L. Bell, "The Thousand and One Churches.")

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The study of decorative themes is no less conclusive.

The difficulty experienced by the Persians in procuring wood for constructing the centering of their vaults led them to adopt certain artifices, in cases where stone was abundant, and brick scarce. Thus at Firuz-Abad the stones, rising at first in horizontal courses, are afterwards set in chevrons over the opening. A coat of plaster masks the inequalities. In order to reduce the weight, the builder sought to embrace the largest possible circle in the polygon formed by the projections of the stones, and several times the angle in the centre of the sector exceeds 180 degrees (Figs. 19, 21, 82). The curve thus described was no doubt admired as graceful, for it is to be found in most of the pre-Islamite Persian buildings, and in the palace of Rabbath-Ammān, it is even used systematically.

The two varieties of the horse-shoe arch (see note, p. 9), and the slightly stilted ogive as used in the great arches of Rabbath-Ammān, reached Lycaonia (Fig. 72), Cappadocia (Fig. 70), and Armenia, descended into Palestine, passed into Egypt, skirted the North coast of Africa, and finally found their way on the one hand into Sicily, on the other into Spain. In the latter direction, traces of their passage have been found at Damascus (Figs. 61, 77), in the most ancient part of the great mosque, A.D. 708; at Koseir Amra; at Jerusalem (mosque of El Akṣa, eighth century, and *mimber* of the Haram esh Sherif); in Egypt (mosque of Tulun, Figs. 62, 63, ninth century); and in Tunis (mosque of Zituna, Fig. 79, A.D. 732).



FIG. 74.—CHURCH OF ANI (vari. a88) AND ARCHES OF THE PERSIAN TYPE.

(Comp. Figs. 15, 17, 19, 32, 34.)



FIG. 75.—RIBBED CUPOLA OF THE CHURCH OF AKHPAT.  
(Drawing by Choisy.)

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FIG. 76.—ISPAHAN. SAHN OF THE MESDJID DJAMI.

(Author's Phot.)

Towards the same period (seventh and eighth centuries), horse-shoe arches were also used in the heart of Chinese Turkestan, in the north-west of Kuchar, in the Ming-ni (Thousand Houses) of Kyzil, grottoes hollowed by the hand of man in the heyday of the Buddhic period, before the Musulman conquest. And in proof that these arches are Persian in origin we find, from Persia to Kuchar at intervals along the road, vaulted buildings resembling the palaces of Firuz-Abad and Sarvis-tan, barrel vaults turned without the help of centering, Iranian and Græco-Iranian ornaments, sculptures and paintings, Manichean and Christian monuments and manuscripts, Sassanian coins, goldsmiths' work and stuffs. The penetration of the antique arts of Persia into China and Japan has been amply demonstrated within the last ten years by French and German missions, as also by my personal studies.

Together with the horse-shoe vault, the cusped arch of Tag-è Kesra (Fig. 28) and Kasr-Tuba (Fig. 35) was introduced into Christian and Musulman architecture. As early as



FIG. 77.—DAMASCUS. MINARET OF JESUS.

(Phot. Courteillemont.)

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the ninth century, the windows of the mosque of Sâmarrâ (Fig. 84), the decorative arcades of the palace of Racca (Fig. 85), and the loop-holes of Santa Cristina de Lena in Asturia (Fig. 119) afford fine examples. Finally, the blind arcades which adorn the façade of the palaces of Firuz-Abad and Kharâneh (Figs. 1, 16) appear both on Musulman and Christian buildings (Figs. 85, 90, 91).

The affinities pointed out between the church and the primitive mosque were even closer between Eastern and Western fortresses. The Crusaders, when they arrived in the Holy Land, were so ignorant of the science of sieges that they were obliged to engage Chaldaean engineers. It is, indeed, well known that the reform of the military architecture of the Middle Ages was initiated by the famous Château Gaillard (1197-1198). Now this castle, constructed by Richard Cœur de Lion on his return from Palestine, was copied from the castles of the Crusaders, themselves faithful imitations of Saracen fortresses. Concurrently with the Château Gaillard, the Château of Gand (Ghent), built towards the same period and under the same conditions as the French castle, and perhaps also the Spanish fortresses, built on the model of Musulman strongholds, helped to diffuse Oriental methods.

The Greeks and Romans, who never achieved the skill and science of the Chaldeo-Syrian engineers, played no part in this evolution. As to



FIG. 78.—ALEPPO. GREAT MOSQUE.

(*Phot. Saladin.*)



FIG. 79.—TUNIS. ZITUNA MOSQUE.

(*Phot. Neurdein.*)

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FIG. 80.—CORDOVA. MOSQUE. NAVE AND AISLES, MAKURA AND MIHRAB. (See Figs. 56, 171.)

(Measured and drawn by the Author.)

powerful intermediary. By showing this, I shall set a seal upon the researches I undertook nearly a third of a century ago.

When my first studies appeared, and I revealed the part played by Persia in the elaboration of the Western architecture of the Middle Ages, the result seemed paradoxical. Since this time, a complete change of opinion has taken place, and of late years, a great many writers have drawn upon my works as upon a common fund. I make the statement with some pride, and do not conceal the satisfaction I feel in the assertion.

The School of Sicily holds in the Oriental group a place analogous to that of the *Mudejar* schools, which will soon be studied. It partakes of the Musulman art introduced into the island by the Fatimites of Per-

the Byzantines, they built correct fortifications, but they had perfected themselves in the art of designing defensive works by contact with Asiatics. They too, therefore, are out of court.

I should be overstepping the limits of a work like the present were I to carry any further a study written to serve as an introduction to the general history of the arts in Spain and Portugal. If it were followed up in all Musulman countries, we should see how durable were the effects of the interpenetration of the two great civilisations represented by the mosque and the church. It is true that in Christian countries, the regions traversed reacted with all the force of traditions still vital; but the arts whose union was consummated under the *aegis* of Persia, nevertheless exercised a decisive influence here. Spain was their most

powerful intermediary. By showing this, I shall set a seal upon the researches I undertook nearly a third of a century ago.



FIG. 81.—JERUSALEM. KUBBET-ES-SAKHRA OR MOSQUE OF OMAR (vari. β').  
(Phot. Bonfils.)

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sian descent in the first half of the ninth century, and the art which the Normans brought there in 1072, after the conquest of Sicily by Roger I. Under the reign of Roger II (1111–1154), a third of the population was Musulman. The Martorana at Palermo (twelfth century), has the Persian cupola upon squinch arches (Fig. 86), and the Musulman ogive

(Fig. 87, *cf.* Fig. 62), and the capitals of the west porch, were inspired by the same models as the Seljukian capitals of some of the buildings of Konieh or its neighbourhood. The Palatine Chapel (A.D. 1232), combines the Musulman ogive and the Persian cupola upon squinch arches with stalactite ceilings, purely Iranian in style, and ceilings on joists like those in the Mosque of Cordova, but the nave is that of a basilica (Fig. 88). Two palaces at Palermo, the Cuba, and the Ziza, are also in a style akin to the Persian. The plan of the central hall of the Cuba is, in fact, an exact copy of plan B at Sarvistan; that of the Ziza has affinities with plan A.

Southern Italy, which had come under the sway of the Byzantine arts at an early period, resisted Musulman influences more effectively than Sicily. Yet there are numerous buildings even here, where Islamite forms triumphed, notably the funerary chapel of Bohemond (d. 1111), at Canossa, with a cupola square on plan, and a bronze door damascened with silver, perfectly Oriental in character.

In the matter of construction, Lombard architecture itself, the origin of which has been hotly debated, seems also to have been a shoot de-

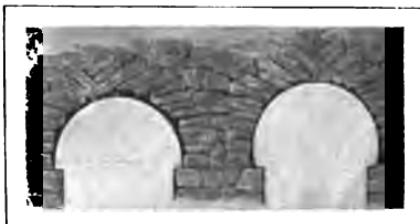


FIG. 82.—PALACE OF FIRUZ-ABAD.  
HORSE-SHOE ARCHES (INNER DOOR).

(See Fig. 21.)

(Measured and drawn by the Author.)



FIG. 83.—JERUSALEM. KUBBET-ES-SILSILEH

(vari. B').

(Phot. Bonfils.)

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FIG. 84.—SAMARRA. CUSPED WINDOW.  
(Author's Drawing.)

their origin has been successively sought in Byzantium, France, and Germany. Now the construction properly so called differs in too many essential points from Byzantine construction to allow of any affinity, nor can these features be referred to countries north of the Alps, from which Lombardy was separated by a vast zone entirely under the sway of Byzantine art.

Certain archæologists have also invoked as one of the factors in the original constitution of Lombard architecture, the Roman monuments imitated from Oriental vaulted buildings and acclimatised in



FIG. 85.—RACCA. CUSPED NICHES.  
(Photo. H. Viollett.)

tached from the Sicilian tree and grafted on the old classical stem. If we examine such ancient churches as Sant' Ambrogio and San Nazzaro at Milan, San Michele Maggiore (Fig. 90) and San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia, the Cathedral at Parma (Fig. 91), Sant' Abondio at Como, and even the so-called Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna (eighth or ninth century) we shall find in all these buildings the formal features and incontrovertible characteristics of that Irano-Syrian architecture introduced into Sicily by the Arab conquerors. These characteristics have long been noted, and

Italy after the Parthian wars (*sup.* p. 26). The Irano-Syrian filiation of the Lombard cupola on squinch arches thus recognised would be less direct than that I suggest, and in any case, anterior to the conquest of Sicily by the Musulmans.

It cannot be denied that the Baths of Caracalla, Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, the basilica of

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FIG. 86.—PALERMO, MARTORANA.  
SQUINCHES OF THE CUPOLA.  
(Phot. Brogi.)

subsequent period, or that it belongs to the primitive structure?

Finally, even supposing the church to have been built in the course of the fifth century, and to have preserved its primitive character, it would still be the fact that it shows but one single Iranian characteristic, whereas such characteristics are numerous and concordant in Lombard architecture, as the latest authors who have dealt with this subject agree to recognise.

Were this case proven, we should have to concede that the introduction of a characteristic motive of Irano-Syrian architecture into the buildings of Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries resulted in the almost integral adoption by Lombard masters of the other

San Salvatore at Spoleto (dating from the fourth or fifth century) show in some of their angles connecting arches resembling the Persian arches destined to support cupolas. On the other hand, neither can it be denied that the transition from the square plan to the circular plan on which the Persian cupola on squinches rests is not realised. True, it has been accomplished in San Giovanni in Fonte, a church in Naples attributed to the fifth century. Even if we allow that the supposed date of the foundation of San Giovanni in Fonte is correct, how are we to know that the cupola was not altered at a



FIG. 87.—PALERMO, MARTORANA.  
MUSULMAN ARCHES OF THE NAVE.  
(Phot. Alinari.)

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constructive formulæ of Persia brought into Sicily by Musulman conquest.

Archæology, history, and geography agree, then, in showing that Sicily and Southern Italy were the only roads by which Iranian architecture could have reached Lombardy. Here it formed a close alliance with the decorative art of the Lower Empire. Later it found the barrier raised by the Byzantine architects so powerful that it never surmounted it. When we come to study Spanish pre-Romanesque art, it will be seen how necessary it was to establish this fact.



FIG. 88.—PALERMO, PALATINE CHAPEL

(Phot. Alinari.

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FIG. 89.—CHURCH OF AURONA. SLAB-CAPITALS AND CARVED ORNAMENT IN THE SASANIAN STYLE.

(Drawing by F. de Dartein, *Architecture lombarde*.)

# THE CHURCH AND THE MOSQUE

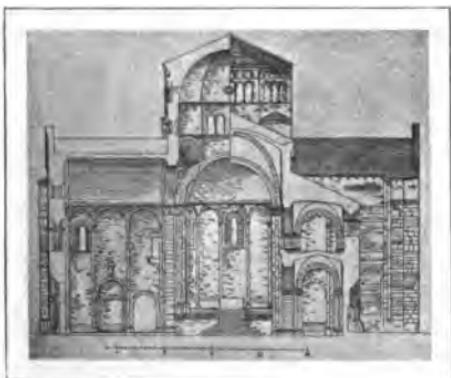


FIG. 90.—PAVIA. SAN MICHELE MAGGIORE.

Characteristics: cupola on squinch arches, decorative arcades, and blind windows in the Persian style.

(Drawing by L. de Dartein, *Architecture lombarde*.)

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FIG. 91.—PARMA. CATHEDRAL.  
(Phot. Alinari.)

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FIG. 92.—SAINT-MARTIN DU CANIGOU (PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES).  
(Phot. Labouche frères.)

## CHAPTER III

### ANTIQUE PERIODS

*Prehistoric Period.—Iberian Period.—Roman Period.—Visigothic Period.—Asturian Churches; Castilian proto-Mudejar Churches; Catalan proto-Romanesque Churches.—Sculpture.—Illuminated Manuscripts.—Religious Furniture.—Musulman Buildings and Arts.—The Origin of Romanesque Architecture*

THE very cold temperature and the dry climate which obtained in France during the end of the quaternary period were also experienced in Spain. The same animals, notably the reindeer, abounded south as well as north of the Pyrenees, and were already hunted by the inhabitants of these regions. The astonishing representations of these creatures on the walls of caverns which are discovered daily in increasing numbers are the pre-historic manifestations of art in Iberia (Fig. 94).

A long series of centuries succeeds the Reindeer Period. At its close, the whole peninsula was inhabited, and its inhabitants had founded towns, the ruins of which, known in Spain as *despoblados* and *castillars*, and in Portugal as *citanias*, seem to reveal contact with archaic Greece.

Houses were composed of rectangular or circular rooms, and

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FIG. 93.—TARRAGONA. CYCLOPEAN DOORWAY.

gated on the southern coasts the use of those courses of dressed stones which new Greek colonies had introduced in the north. They were used to restore the so-called cyclopean walls of Tarragona, the ancient Tarraco (Fig. 93) and of Ampurias, the ancient Emporion, and also to build the *enceinte* of Malaga.

The ornaments of the later buildings belong to the classic art of Hellas, but in their grouping, as in the use made of them, we divine the hand of a native artist. They consist of ovi, beads, Ionic volutes and palm leaves, and are found on fragments of cornices and capitals, at Elche, at Cerro de los Santos, and at Llano de la Consolacion.

Spain and Portugal between them own some four hundred stone quadrupeds about the size of a calf (Fig. 95), the forms of which are so indefinite, that according to the country in which they occur they are called respectively *toros* (bulls),

their walls of unworked stones. The ashlar became immense and cyclopean when used for fortified enclosures similar to those of Gerona, Olerdula, or Tarragona (Fig. 93). Plaids, twists, and spirals adorn the jambs and lintels of doors in the *despoblados* and *citanias*, and the *swastika*, the cross inscribed in a circle, is also to be seen. In Portugal round tombs have been found, vaulted by means of horizontal courses, recalling the tombs of Mycenæ and Orchomenos, with an avenue resembling the *dromos* of these monuments.

The Phoenicians made their appearance in their turn, and propa-



FIG. 94.—RISON. CAVE OF ALTAMIRA.

(Phot. Cartailhac.)

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*becerros* (calves), *cerdos* or *cerdones* (pigs or hogs), and *porcas* or *puercas* (sows). Some of them bear inscriptions of later date than their execution, others, the Sow of Murca, for instance, show traces of polychromy. The antiquity of these animals is incontestable. As to the model, it may possibly have been found among certain quadrupeds analogous to the Hittite lions of Albistan. Oriental influences soon became so manifest that this coincidence should be noted.

Iberian sculpture further claims the Lusitanian warriors of the Palace of Ajuda (Lisbon), certain rude statues found in Spain, the mask of Redoban, which already shows certain interesting features, and a work very remarkable in every way, found at Elche in August, 1897 (Fig. 97). It is the bust of a woman in stone, the lips and parts of the head-dress still showing traces of red colour. Enormous wheel-shaped ear-pendants, a head-dress recalling the *sarmat*, a fine Phœnician necklace, and in addition, the style of the sculpture and the ethnical type of the face determine the date and origin of this bust. It must be a work of the second half of the fifth century B.C. by a native sculptor who had come under a dual influence, that of Greece filtering through the Phocœans and the colonies succeeding each other along the coasts of Catalonia, and that of Phœnicia, which made its way from Carthage and the warehouses established in the South of Spain.

The same date may be assigned to, and the same characteristics appear in certain statues from Cerro de los Santos and Llano de la Consolacion, the bas-reliefs of Osuna (Fig. 99), the fine bronze heads of bulls found at Costig in the island of Majorca (Fig. 96), the type of



FIG. 95.—BULL. OF AVILA.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 96.—BULLS OF COSTIG.  
(Archæological Museum of Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 97.—BUST OF ELCHE.  
(The Louvre.)

the Attic system, and merely Iberian weapons long retained merely their individual forms. Swords were composed of a triangular blade and a simple hilt ; certain swords discovered in the necropolis of Aguilar d'Anguita and in the province of Cordova, near Almedinilla, have also a very special form (Fig. 98). The Oriental character of these is so marked that the Museum of Artillery in Paris exhibits them among the Arab *yataghans*. Now, a blade identical with that of the Almedinilla sword is represented on a statue found at Elche. Like the *yataghans*, it has, together with a double curve, a reinforcement which stiffens the back and consolidates the junction of the silk with the haft. Finally, Greek and Latin writers describe, and the painted vases of the classical period reproduce, various sharp instruments very much like these swords. They are called *μάχαιρα*, *χοπίς*, *machæra*, and *copis*, and served as sickles, cooking and hunting knives, and butcher's knives. The Greeks of

which has analogies with that of the Susian bulls, the androcephalous monster known as the *Vicha* of Balazote, the Sphinx of Bocairente, which bears a curious resemblance to the lions discovered at Delos during the campaign of 1906–1907, the sphinxes of Agost and Salobral, and the griffin of Redobán.

The study of pottery and coins confirms the existence of ancient relations between Iberia and the Hellenic world. The Greek types became so general that the Carthaginian colonies, when they struck Hispano-Punic coins, adopted

modified obverse and reverse. Swords



FIG. 98.—SWORD OF  
ALMEDINILLA.  
(Archæological Museum of  
Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 99.—WARRIOR OF OSUNA.  
(The Louvre.) (Phot. Hachette.)

Homer knew the first of these, and we learn from *Æschylus* (*The Persians*, 59) Xenophon (*Cyrop.*, II, 1, 9; VI, 2, 19; VII, 3, 8) and Plutarch (*Aristides*) that they were of Oriental origin, and were used in the armies of the Great King. The swords themselves confirm these statements. One of them has a hilt chased in the iron, the excellent decoration of which consists of a winged monster and bands of foliage which recall the Sassanian dragons and the frieze of the Palace of Hatra. It would seem the work of an artist brought up in the Asiatic tradition, and established either in

Spain or Africa towards the third century of our era. At this period, *Colonia Junonia*, built by the Romans on the ruins of Carthage, enjoyed great prosperity, and the natives continued to cultivate arts which combined Eastern and Western features.

The Roman monuments come next in chronological order to the Iberian. They have no special character, and it will be sufficient to mention the most interesting of them.

At Tarragona and Segovia there are aqueducts in an excellent state of preservation (Fig. 100). Near Alcantara is a bridge 108 metres long, thrown across the Tagus in the year 105 A.D. (Fig. 101). At Merida (the ancient *Augusta Emerita*), a magnificent granite bridge, 910 metres long, has sixty-four arches; several of the existing piers are the work of the original builders. At Ronda la Vieja (the ancient *Acinipo*), at Sagonte, and at Merida, there are theatres. At Santiponce



FIG. 100.—AQUEDUCT OF SEGOVIA.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 101.—BRIDGE OF ALCANTARA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

(the ancient Italica), is an amphitheatre. Numancia, Emporion, Tarragona (the ancient Tarraco), and Italica have yielded coins, vases, bronze busts (Fig. 104), marble statues, bas-reliefs, altars, fragments of entablatures, capitals, shafts and bases of columns, inscriptions, weapons, and mosaics. In Portugal we have the temple of Evora (Fig. 103).

During the century and a half which followed on the accession of Athanagild (554-567), churches, palaces, and public buildings rose in great numbers in the principal towns of the Visigoth kingdom. Toledo, the capital, and the neighbouring cities, among which was Guarrazar, were not the only ones to enjoy great prosperity. Italica, Osuna, Cordova, Granada, Castulo, Atarfe, and above all, Merida, were other brilliant centres.

Merida, which kept up very active commercial relations with the Mediterranean coast, was one of the doors by which the arts of Byzantium entered to amalgamate with those inherited from Imperial Rome. The Visigothic buildings have disappeared, but certain fragments have been discovered, and these, in default of monuments, afford very valuable information. The columns are either plain in the shaft, or fluted spirally. The capitals are for

the most part of a debased Corinthian type (Fig. 106). The ornaments are often floral, and in very low relief; the cornice mouldings are Roman. Intermingled with the running foliage patterns are a few Christian emblems: the Greek cross, the dove, the fish, the Alpha and Omega of the Chrism (Fig. 108).

It is a question whether



FIG. 102.—THEATRE OF RONDA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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this body of constructive elements and of sculptured ornaments belonging to the Visigothic buildings of Spain indicates a special style. I am of opinion that it does. Just as there was a composite Iberian style, so there was a Visigothic style, in which the Latin dominant, certain local traditions, and the Byzantine art of the sixth and seventh centuries mingled in proportions not to be met with elsewhere, and gave the compound an individual character peculiar to Spain. It finds manifest expression in the precious votive-crowns discovered in 1858 at Guarrazar, near Toledo, and divided between the Musée de Cluny in Paris, and the Almeria Real of Madrid (Fig. 105). They bear the names of kings Swenthila (A.D. 621–631), and Receswinth (A.D. 649–672).

Among the buildings which rose in the Asturias, on the first territories recovered by the Christians, the most ancient date from the reign of Alonso II, *el Rey Casto* (A.D. 792–842). They are three churches of Oviedo: San Julian de los Prados (commonly called Santullano), San Tirso, and La Camara Santa.

Santullano consists of a portico, a nave, two aisles, a transept, an apse, and two apsidal chapels corresponding to the aisles (Figs. 109, 110, 111). The nave, which is considerably higher than the side-aisles, is crowned with a timber roof, as is also the chancel; thus the exterior covering of nave, apse, and chancel dominates the general level of the roof, and forms a Latin cross. The architect, who had feared the thrust of his vaults on the higher walls, was less timid in the lower parts of



FIG. 103.—TEMPLE OF EVORA.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 104.—EXCAVATIONS OF AMPURIAS.

(Güell Collection, Barcelona.)

(Phot. Thomas.)

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the building. He threw groined vaults over the side-aisles and raised barrel-vaults over the apses. Finally, the nave is divided from the aisles by three arches on pillars, and the apse from the apsidal chapels by three blind arches on columns. In the vaults, as in the arches, the semi-circular form is the only one adopted.

Santullano looks like a modest church, built in the course of last century. To convince ourselves that we are in an ancient building revealing Oriental influences, we must note on the exterior, the *ajimeces* (twin windows), in which are set slabs cut out into geometrical traceries,

and the stone corbels which help to uphold the eaves at the angles (Fig. 110); we must examine the buttresses of the Asturian type (Fig. 107), the gargoyle, the brick discharging arches above the lintels of some of the apertures (Fig. 110); we must climb into the roof of the nave to see the cramps of the ribs, decorated with concentric circles. Then the attention is drawn to the apse, whose jasper columns, white marble capitals in an impure Corinthian style, and pilasters with a geometrical decoration surmounted by a double course of acanthus leaves (Fig. 111), recall the Hellenistic motives discovered at Merida (Figs. 68, 69), and already noted in the Palace of Hatra (pp. 11, 12).

The general arrangements at Santullano are characteristic of the Latin basilicas of variety  $\gamma\delta$  (sup. pp. 7,



FIG. 105.—VISIGOTHIC VOTIVE CROWNS.  
(Cluny Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)



FIG. 106.—FRAGMENTS OF VISIGOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

(Museum of Merida.)

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 107.—SAN MIGUEL DE LINO.  
ASTURIAN BUTTRESSES.

dedicated to St. Michael for their further protection. It has a vaulted ground-floor which isolated it from the soil, and made it difficult to force an entrance, and an upper storey about 10 metres long by 6 wide, with a semi-circular vault. This storey is composed of the Camara Santa, properly so-called, built by Tioda in the reign of Alonso II, *el Rey Casto* (A.D. 792–842), and a sort of vestibule or *ante-camara*, the work of Alonso VI (1066–1109).

The decoration of the Camara Santa is simple. At the entrance there is an arc-doubleau, springing from two marble columns. The wall of the chevet is in its turn pierced by a large aperture formed by a second arch on columns. The capitals—all different—resemble those found among the ruins of Visigothic buildings.

Following the example of Alonso II, Ramiro I (842–850) built churches, palaces, and public baths in marble. Their vaults,

34), constructed in the East or under Oriental influences.

How did the design of the Latin Oriental basilica arrive in the Asturias? Undoubtedly through those provinces where a Christian architecture of an Oriental cast had flourished under the Visigoths. It is therefore possible that there may have been a copy at Oviedo of the churches built before the Muslim invasion.

The *ajimez* which lighted the apse of San Tirso is the sole indubitable and apparent vestige of the primitive construction which has come down to us (Fig. 117).

The Camara Santa was a reliquary-chapel embedded in a fortified palace

for the security of its treasures and

for their further protection. It has a

isolated it from the soil, and made it

difficult to force an entrance, and an upper storey about 10 metres

long by 6 wide, with a semi-circular vault. This storey is

composed of the Camara Santa, properly so-called, built by Tioda in

the reign of Alonso II, *el Rey Casto* (A.D. 792–842), and a sort

of vestibule or *ante-camara*, the work of Alonso VI (1066–1109).



FIG. 108.—FRAGMENTS OF VISIGOOTHIC  
ARCHITECTURE.

(Museum of Merida.)

(Author's Phot.)

## ART IN SPAIN

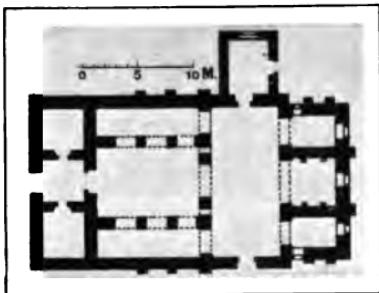


FIG. 109.—OVIEDO. CHURCH OF SANTULLANO.  
(Author's Drawing and Measurements.)

plan of this church is a square traversed by a cross. The nave terminated in an apse, but after the fall of the chevet, the gaping apertures were simply closed up. After passing through the outer door, we enter a porch with a cylindric vault, surmounted by a tribune, and then the nave, the very lofty barrel-vault of which dominates the whole structure. The two arms of the cross, also with cylindric vaults, communicate with symmetrical spaces in the same bay as the porch, containing stairs ascending to the tribune.

Far from resembling the basilicas, San Miguel (Figs. 11, 112) shows the characteristic arrangement of the Syrian *Prætorium* of Phæna (Figs. 6, 66), the Sassanian palaces of variety  $\alpha\beta\delta$ , the church of Mahal-etch (Lycaonian group, *sup. p. 32*), and the civil or religious buildings derived from them. In all of these, the development of the plan is subordinated to statical necessities, and the thrust of the vaults is resisted by means of the arms of the cross, which bear upon the points where they are exercised; in all, again, the cross is indicated by a considerable elevation of the roofs above it, which the roof of the central nave dominates in its turn.

Finally, San Miguel, Santullano, and other Asturian churches of the

turned without any centering (without wood, says the text), are described by contemporary chroniclers as unprecedented *miracles of architecture*. The adoption of this method, which ancient Persia, no doubt, owed to Chaldea, and of which she had made exclusive use, bears witness to the numerous borrowings of Christian Spain from the East.

San Miguel de Lino, near Oviedo, was consecrated twenty-five years after Santullano. The



FIG. 110.—SANTULLANO. APSE.  
(Author's Phot.)

## ANTIQUE PERIODS

same period have external buttresses (Fig. 107). The only part of the exterior executed in free-stone, they project boldly from the walls, and are ornamented with deep flutes; the care shown in their construction and decoration bears witness to the important part assigned to them by the architect. Now neither Rome nor Byzantium made use of external buttresses; nor was it to the north of the Pyrenees that they first made their appearance, for we find no trace of their use here for over two centuries more. Their like must be sought in the Persian palaces of Firuz-Abad, Tag-e Kesra, El Okhaidher, in the churches of Lycaonia (*sup. pp. 9, 16, 33, 56*; Figs. 2, 19, 34), and nearer to Oviedo, in the mosque of Cordova (*inf. p. 84*).

The Iranian style makes itself felt again at San Miguel de Lino, in the abacus-capitals surmounting the small columns of the tribune (Fig. 113), in the corbels of the great columns which receive the vaulting arches of the transept, in the ornamentation of the pilasters (Fig. 114) in an exquisite *ajimez* (Fig. 116) and in the geometrical traceries of its pierced slabs. Roman traditions survive with no less insistence. Thus, on the panels of the outer door we find, encircled in a garland of foliage, scenes borrowed



FIG. 111.—SANTULLANO. NAVE, AISLES, TRANSEPT, APSE, AND APSIDAL CHAPELS.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)



FIG. 112.—NEAR OVIEDO. SAN MIGUEL DE LINO.  
(Plan, Fig. 11.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## ART IN SPAIN

from consular diptychs (Fig. 115). The seated figures on the curious bases of the columns also look like persons clad in the toga (Fig. 114).

Santa Cristina de Lena (Figs. 12, 118, 120) situated on the road from Leon to Oviedo, has features in common with San Miguel de Lino which appear in the plan, in the decoration, and in the mode of construction. The entire church is covered with a lofty semicircular vault (the upper part has been restored, but the springers and part of the reins are original), and has a tribune to which a staircase in the nave gives access. The arms of the transept divide it into two equal parts, and, with the nave they reinforce, form a cross similar to that of Sarvis-tan (Fig. 3, Hall A). Santa Cristina has further a raised chancel and a sort of iconostasis (Fig. 120), resembling the partition of the *maksura* in the mosques of Maghreb and Andalusia.



FIG. 113.—SAN MIGUEL DE LINO.  
TRIBUNE.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 114.—SAN MIGUEL DE LINO.  
PILASTER AND BASE OF COLUMN.  
(Author's Phot.)

Although the arrangement of the plan, the internal and external appearance, and the screen of the sanctuary place Santa Cristina in the category of the Oriental churches of Type *a* (*sup.* pp. 6, 33; Figs. 3, 71, 73), it has certain characteristics of the Latin basilica. If we compare it with San Clemente at Rome—restored in the ninth century, but all the details seem to conform to the Early Christian tradition—we shall note that in each the chancel is raised a few steps above the nave, and that a few other steps rise again from the chancel to the apse. At San Clemente the ciborium and the altar are protected by a balustrade. Santa

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Cristina in its turn has an iconostasis with three arches, and beneath the central arch three solid slabs, very highly ornamented, against which the altar was set (Figs. 120, 121). For whom were the tribunes of San Miguel and Santa Cristina destined? It cannot have been the singers, for they had to be near the officiating priests. They were more probably reserved for women who, at this period

and long afterwards in Spain, were always closely veiled when they appeared in public, like the Musulman women. About one metre above the ends of the balustrade, there are two holes into which the extremities of a beam formerly fitted. As the shallowness of the orifices precludes the hypothesis of a tie-beam used to reinforce the lateral walls, it may be supposed that the beam served to fix a wooden grating analogous to the *musharabiehs*, behind which the women could unveil and follow the service unseen.

The decoration of Santa Cristina will be considered separately. Here I shall only describe the loop-holes of the sanctuary, on account of their strongly-marked Oriental character (Fig. 119),

They are cut in a single slab, in the form of an elongated rectangle, and are crowned by a tympanum decorated

with chevrons. The embrasure terminates in a cusped section of a circle, on which are incised the flutes of a scallop shell in the Sassanian style (*sup. p. 13*). Santo Cristo de la Luz (*inf. p. 85*), has these same loop-holes, and on the other hand, the same shell and cusped arch have been pointed out in the Sassanian palaces, and in Asia, Africa, and Spain, in the most ancient Musulman buildings (Figs. 23, 32, 66, 85).



FIG. 115.—SAN MIGUEL DE LINO. DETAIL OF PRINCIPAL DOOR.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 116.—SAN MIGUEL DE LINO.  
AJIMEZ OF RIGHT TRANSEPT.  
(See Fig. 112.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 117.—OVIEDO. AJIMEZ OF SAN TIRSO.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

each of the partition walls. The room on the east is approached by three steps, and that on the west (Fig. 125), by a single step. Finally, opposite the porch, there was once a kind of covered terrace on the south, whence the eye took in Oviedo, the valley, and the high mountains which dominate it. The central hall had no windows. Each of the end rooms had, however, five, in addition to an *ajimez* in the gable. At Santa Cristina de Lena, the Asturian buttresses noticed in preceding buildings (p. 59), correspond to the columns of the interior, and to the *arcs-doubleaux* of the vault. Here, the same connection is to be observed. In addition, the skeleton formed by the buttresses, the columns, the formerets, and arcs

Santa Maria de Naranco is situated barely 100 metres from San Miguel de Lino (Figs. 122–125). On plan it is a rectangle about twenty metres long by six wide, and consists of a ground floor and an upper storey. Three flights of steps leading up to a porch occupy the middle of the north façade. The central flight, which masks one of the three doorways of the ground floor, was a later addition. The upper storey is a gallery with a barrel-vault of eleven bays. Seven are included in a central hall, and four in two rooms, one at each end. Three doorways with semi-circular heads, flanked by coupled spiral columns, open in



FIG. 118.—SANTA CRISTINA DE LENA.  
(Plan, Fig. 12.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 119.—SANTA CRISTINA DE LENA. CUSPED WINDOW IN APSE.  
(Author's Drawing.)

and yet so generally ignored, that it seems necessary to insist upon it.

The shields placed in the centre of the tympana, and the bands which connect the arcs-doubleaux with these shields (Fig. 123), the capitals in the form of truncated pyramids (*cf.* Fig. 33) and also the lions, hunters, and watch-dogs which adorn them (Fig. 124) are decorative motives common to Santa Cristina de Lena and Santa Maria de Naranco. Several of them are akin to well known Iranian themes, or to Musulman motives derived from these.

What was the original destination of Santa Maria? It was neither, it would seem, a church like Santullano, San Miguel, or Santa Cristina, nor a reliquary-chapel like the Camara Santa. The presence, the plan, and the orientation of the terrace, the rich but artless decoration, all suggest the detached rooms of a country palace.

doubleaux, is so well considered, resisting masses are so correctly opposed to destructive forces, that it would be possible to throw down the partition walls between the formerets and the buttresses without destroying the equilibrium. The portions of the vault which connect the doubleaux themselves constitute a filling. This building marks the abandonment of the inorganic concrete Roman vaults, and the introduction of those ribbed vaults of Persian origin (*sup.* pp. 13, 14, 27; Figs. 25, 29, 54), which were not to prevail in the rest of Europe for two centuries. Their adoption by Asturian architects constitutes a fact of such great archaeological importance,



FIG. 120.—SANTA CRISTINA DE LENA.  
(Plan, Fig. 12.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 121.—SANTA CRISTINA DE LENA. ALTAR SLABS.  
(See Fig. 120.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Three churches near Gijon—San Adrian, San Salvador de Valdedios and San Salvador de Priesca (ninth and tenth centuries), also belong to the Asturian group, but they must be classed with Santullano and numbered among the Oriental Latin basilicas.

The old churches of Castille are distinguished from the Asturian buildings by vaults on horse-shoe arches struck from a single centre.<sup>1</sup> To avoid confusion, they will be classified as *proto-Mudejar*, a term applicable to them because of their very great affinity with contemporary Musulman structures, and because they precede by several centuries the *Mudejar* monuments, properly so-called (*inf. p. 123*). In this connection, there is a fact which must be carefully defined.

Certain archæologists think that horse-shoe arches were in use in Spain from antiquity, and that the Musulmans borrowed them from the Visigoths. It is possible that the Romans after the Parthian wars, and the Visigoths, who had relations with the East, were acquainted with the design, and even used it in decoration; but architects so seldom had recourse to it that there are no authentic examples in buildings constructed in Spain before the Musulman invasion (we do not except the so-called Roman *ajimez*, at Toledo,

The nave was perhaps the reception hall, and the monarch may have occupied the small apartment on the west. As to that on the east, readily accessible from the nave, yet easily isolated by means of curtains between the columns, it was no doubt provided with an altar, and served as an oratory, while the regular service was celebrated at San Miguel.

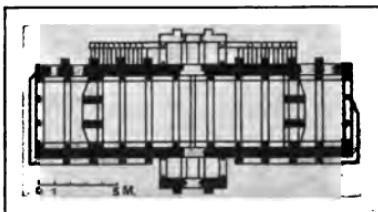


FIG. 122.—NEAR OVIEDO. SANTA MARÍA DE NARANCO. PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR.  
(Author's Drawing and Measurements.)

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 9.

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and also San Juan de Baños. The evidence from the *Etymologies* of Isidoro of Seville (lib. xvii, cap. viii, 9), that these arches were anterior to the Arab conquest cannot be accepted. The definition of *Arcus* is based, indeed, on a kind of conceit, and cannot be interpreted as horse-shoe arch. Besides, as the definition here is general (*Arcus et fornices*, says the text), it would imply—if we give the word *arcus* the special meaning of horse-shoe arch—that all the Visigothic vaults and arches were contracted at the springing. This is not admissible. On the other hand, if we consider that the horse-shoe arch was

used in the South of Persia as early as the fifth or fourth century before Christ (Fig. 82), that its progress is to be traced towards the East from Fars to the heart of Chinese Turkestan and towards the West as far as Spain, that from East to West it appears accompanied by architectural themes and decorative motives characteristic of Iranian art, we are led to place the centre of propagation in the region where these advances through time and space converge, and to assert that it was not used in Spain till the moment when it was brought there by the Muslims.

San Juan Bautista de Baños (province of Palencia) is a famous church, because, relying on an inscription incrusted over the triumphal arch, Spanish archæologists refer it to the year 661, and to the reign of Reces-



FIG. 124.—SANTA MARÍA DE NARANCO. SPRINGER OF ARCH, CAPITAL, COUPLED SPIRAL COLUMNS.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 123.—SANTA MARÍA DE NARANCO. SPRINGER OF TRANSVERSE ARCHES.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 125.—SANTA MARÍA DE NARANCO.  
(Author's Phot.)

the porch (Fig. 126), and on that part of the left side-aisle which adjoins it—Gospel side—(Figs. 127, 131). Proof of an almost

complete reconstruction of the building is to be found on the façade where two of the ashlar blocks consist of fragments of sculpture from the earlier church (Fig. 126). What date must we assign to San Juan? We may assume that the church was rebuilt as soon as peace was established in the country, no doubt in the reign of Ordoño I (850–866), or during the life of his successor, Alonso III (866–910). This date is confirmed by the horse-shoe design of the great arches, which in the Christian provinces seems to have preceded that of the horse-shoe arch struck from a single centre.<sup>1</sup> Now this latter was in general use as far back as the beginning



FIG. 126.—BAÑOS, ERMITA DE SAN JUAN.  
OUTER DOORWAY. TO THE RIGHT AND  
ABOVE, TWO FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE  
FROM THE ANCIENT VISIGOTHIC CHURCH.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 9.

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of the tenth century, as we know from documents duly dated, and from the following church among others.

San Miguel de Escalada is situated 30 kilometres south-east of Leon (Figs. 132—135). The church, which occupies the site of a Visigothic abbey destroyed at about the same period as San Juan de Baños, was built by monks expelled from Cordova at the end of the ninth century, and consecrated in 913 by Genadio, Bishop of Astorga. The direct influence of Musulman architecture is perceptible in the presence of the modillions with the *cyma* (*inf. p. 84*), and more especially in the systematic use of the horse-shoe arch struck from a single centre characteristic of the close of the Caliphate, substituted for the horse-shoe of preceding buildings, not only in the form of the arches, but in the plan of the apsidal chapels (Fig. 132). These arrangements are all found in the Mosque of Cordova, and were doubtless borrowed from it (Fig. 80). But, in a more general manner, the prototype of the building is to be found in the East. Several churches of Lycaonia, among others that of Sivri Hissar (Figs. 71, 72), and more markedly still, the subterranean church of Tokale at Gueureme (Fig. 70) show the same horse-shoe arches, the same chancel separated from the nave by the same iconostasis with three apertures, the same apses forming a horse-shoe on plan. I shall describe the transition phases at the end of this chapter.



FIG. 127.—BAÑOS, SAN JUAN. NAVE

AND AISLE, GOSPEL SIDE.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 128.—BAÑOS, SAN JUAN. NAVE

BEFORE RESTORATION.

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 129.—BAÑOS. SAN JUAN.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

The first, Santa María de Melque (from the Arab *Melek* or *Mulk*—king or kingdom), is a little church of Type a, the cruciform plan of which is combined with a hemicyclic apse crowned by a semi-cupola. It is further characterised by a domical groined vault over the crossing, horse-shoe arches struck from a single centre, and abacus-capitals. But that any idea of a copy is inadmissible, we might wonder by what road this plan reached the authors of the Green Mosque of Broussa (1424 A.D.) and the Blue Mosque of Tauris. There was no imitation, but neither was the resemblance due to chance. The three masters drew similar conclusions (Fig. 10) from common premises (Figs. 3, 6, 11, 15).

Of all the *proto-Mudejar* buildings, none is more unusual than the Ermita de San Baudilio (Figs. 136–138). This little building, interesting not only in its architecture, but also in its paintings, which will be described in Chap. IV, consists of a rectangular nave followed by a square apse. The apse is covered with a barrel vault. Round the nave is set a torus, cut by the vertical walls. It is ribbed, and composed of eight half sectors confronted at the summit,

After their expulsion from Cordova, certain monks no doubt took refuge at Santa María de Lebeña and San Cebrian de Mazote, where they built churches in the style of San Miguel. Others founded Santiago de Peñalba (Asturias), which was consecrated under Ramiro II (930–950).

Two *proto-Mudejar* buildings of the province of Soria claim our attention.



FIG. 130.—BAÑOS. SAN JUAN.,  
EPISTLE SIDE.  
(Author's Phot.)

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the rectilinear and horizontal bases of which rest, four upon the walls of the nave, the other four upon squinch arches in the angles. The ribs are horse-shoe arches, which springing from the top of the octagon formed by the bases of the sectors, converge to a central column on which they are received. (Fig. 137.) Strange as it may seem, this vault is the extreme

instance of the Irano-Syrian motive  $\alpha\beta$ , from which the square building with a central sanctuary and concentric ambulatory is derived. Draw the supports of the inner ring together sufficiently to concentrate them on a single pier, and you pass from any one of them to the Ermita de San Baudelio. An examination of the moderately contracted arches shows that the Ermita dates from the end of the ninth century, and consequently from a period when the country was subject to the Musulmans. Was it originally a little mosque of the Persian type (Fig. 10), or the one Mozarabian church known to us (*inf. p. 123*)? There is something to be said for both hypotheses. I myself favour the second, for at San Baudelio we find the arrangement characteristic of Santa Maria de Lena, including the tribune, and the steps which connect the nave with the chancel, and the chancel with the apse.

Immediately after the liberation of the country, numerous workshops were opened south of the Pyrenees, between Jaca and Barcelona, either to transform mosques into churches—Cathedral of Gerona—or to restore ancient religious buildings. It was thus that San Miguel, San Pedro and Santa Maria de Tarrasa were rebuilt. These three churches, the legitimate heirs of the ancient Visigothic

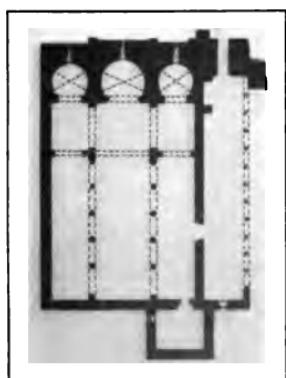


FIG. 132.—SAN MIGUEL DE  
ESCALADA.  
(Author's Drawing and  
Measurements.)



FIG. 131.—BAÑOS. SAN JUAN. GOSPEL SIDE.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 133.—SAN MIGUEL DE ESCALADA.  
LATERAL PORCH.

(Author's Phot.)

dominates the crossing and the building as a whole (Figs. 139, 140). The cupola itself rests on the tympana of eight semi-circular arches very much surmounted, and through their intermediary, on eight columns, four massive ones at the angles, four less heavy in the middle of the sides. Finally, the space between the bases of the columns is occupied by a piscina (Fig. 139) identical with that in the Baptistry of Constantine (A.D. 350 to 400. Jerusalem, excavations of 1910). It was designed for baptism by immersion, which was practised in Catalonia to the middle of the eleventh century. Under the church is a small crypt.

San Pedro is only a stone's throw from San Miguel (Fig. 141). It has been restored several times. Only the chevet and the first bay of the nave belong to the original building. The chevet is

basilica of Egara, stand in an enclosure formerly fortified, placed outside the new city. All three have an apse on a horse-shoe plan, the apse characteristic of certain pre-Islamite churches of Lycaonia (*sup. p. 32, 67*), and the best preserved of these, San Miguel, reproduces the essential features of the Irano-Syrian varieties  $\alpha\beta\delta$ ,  $\alpha\beta'\delta$ . On plan (Fig. 13, cf. Figs. 6, 7) San Miguel is a square with rounded angles 10 metres 80 cm. each way, traversed by a cross 4 metres wide, and a horse-shoe apse. The arms of the cross are roofed with groined domical vaults with curvilinear triangles at the corners, and the apse is covered with deformed spherical cupolas, while a cupola upon squinch arches



FIG. 134.—SAN MIGUEL DE ESCALADA.  
LATERAL PORCH.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 135.—SAN MIGUEL DE ESCALADA. NAVE AND AISLE. ICONOSTASIS.  
(Author's Phot.)

those of Tag-é Ivan, Kasr Kharānēh and Koseir Amra (Figs. 25, 29, 68), with this peculiarity, that half-barrel vaults, perhaps a later addition, cover the side aisles and neutralise the thrust of the arcs-doubleaux. This system of abutment, which originated at Sarvistan (Fig. 23) is perfectly worked out in the Coptic churches of the seventh century.

Santa Maria was almost completely rebuilt between the years 1100 and 1112. The apse appears to be older than the rest of the building, or at least, it was restored on the ancient horse-shoe plan.

The exceptional, though long neglected, interest of the churches of Tarrasa lies in the obviously Asiatic character of their original plans, and also in the

a trilobate horse-shoe on plan. The trapeze on which it is traced is covered by a semi-cupola on squinch arches, very slightly indicated (cf. Fig. 139). In the apse is a fragment of mosaic pavement in the Roman style. The original and general arrangements of San Pedro recall those of the Syrian church of Qennauāt. The semi-cupola closely resembles the semi-cupolas on squinches of Sarvistan. As to the bay of the nave, it is identical with



FIG. 136.—ADORATION OF THE MAGI. APSE OF THE ERMITA DE SAN BAUDELIO.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

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FIG. 137.—SAN BAUDELO. CENTRAL PILLAR, TRIBUNE AND STALL FROM THE APSE.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

in excellent preservation in which the cupola upon squinch arches takes its definitive form. The bell-tower also dates from the beginning of the eleventh century. It is square, pierced with *ajimeces*, and crowned with Saracenic stepped battlements. San Pedro de las Puellas at Barcelona, San Pedro de Galligans at Gerona (Fig. 142), San Juan and San Pablo at San Juan de las Abadesas, Santa Maria de Ripoll, Saint Martin du Canigou (Fig. 107), the church of Elne (Fig. 165) and the Romanesque churches of Catalonia and Castille in general, like the mosques from Tunis to Toledo, all have this minaret-belfry, a very ancient example of which is found in the Great Mosque of Damascus (Fig. 77).

San Nicolas of Gerona

arrangement of the vaults, the piers and Persian cupolas on squinch arches, the earliest to be found in Spain, but the definitive study of these forms and the important conclusions to be drawn therefrom, must be reserved for the end of this chapter.

San Danial of Gerona is a hermitage situated on the Galligans, beyond the gate of San Pedro. The site and a chapel which stood upon it were bought for 100 ounces of gold by Count Ramon Borrell (992-1018) in order to build the present church, which was finished by his widow, the Countess Ermesendis. This information is important, for it fixes the date of a cruciform building



FIG. 138.—HUNTING SCENE WITH CUFIC INSRIPTION ABOVE, SAN BAUDELO.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

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is a little disused chapel, situated like San Danial on the Galligans, but inside the ramparts (Figs. 14, 144). It is a perfect realisation of the chapel on a trefoil plan (variety *a*, Fig 4). San Nicolas is as skilfully built in every respect as San Pablo del Campo of Barcelona (Figs. 145, 146) restored upon its ancient foundations in 1117. It dates from about the same time. If we compare San Nicolas (first quarter of twelfth century) with San Danial (first quarter of eleventh century) and San Danial to San Miguel and the chevet of San Pedro of Tarrasa, we recognise that between the design of Tarrasa and San Danial there is a far greater divergence than between San Danial and San Nicolas, and consequently also that San Miguel and the apse of San Pedro are very much earlier than the eleventh century. The existence of a baptismal piscina at San Miguel, and the fact that at San Miguel as at San Juan de Banos, the architects barbarously introduced shafts, bases, and capitals borrowed from the Visigothic buildings destroyed by the Musulmans confirm this chronological attribution to some extent. We know too that the systematic use of apses on the horse-shoe plan characteristic of the three churches of Tarrasa only occurs in the *proto-Mudejar* churches, between the years 850 and 1000 (*sup.* pp. 67, 70). Finally, there are very definite documents which



FIG. 139.—SAN MIGUEL DE TARRASA.  
CUPOLA ON SQUINCH ARCHES. FONT.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 140.—SAN MIGUEL DE TARRASA.  
(See Plan, Fig. 13.)  
(Author's Phot.)

## ART IN SPAIN

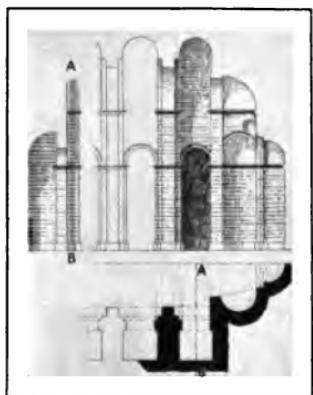


FIG. 141.—SAN PEDRO. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF A HALF BAY, A. B. LONGITUDINAL SECTION AND HALF PLAN OF CHEVET AND OF FIRST BAY.

minated the work of deliverance undertaken by the king of France, and formed the territory of Barcelona into an independent county.

San Pablo del Campo at Barcelona (Figs. 145, 146) to which I have just alluded, would have been built in 914, if we could trust

the inscription near the cloister. As a fact, the church, owing to its position outside the walls, was, no doubt, destroyed during a Musulman raid, and restored on the ancient foundations in 1117. The façade is crowned with a sort of pediment, Roman in inspiration, which in its turn is surmounted by an embattled turret, and a covered brattice, designed to defend the door. Its military equipment also comprises an octagonal belfry, built on top of the dome, and loop-holes pierced in the apsidal walls. The coping of the pediment and a sort of broken cornice are supported by a course of blind machicolations. The cloister is contemporary with the new church (Fig. 146), the arches instead of being semi-circles of normal voussoirs



FIG. 142.—GERONA. SAN PEDRO DE GALLIGANS. APSE AND BELFRY.

(Author's Phot.)

## ANTIQUE PERIODS

are polylobe—three and five lobes—and are formed of horizontal courses. The Oriental origin of this form and of this mode of construction has been pointed out above (Figs. 8, 36).

In addition to the buildings I have enumerated, we find in Catalonia, on the southern slopes of the Eastern Pyrenees, poor village churches such as those of Pedret, Sant Feliu at Boada, Sant Feliu at Guixols, which seem to date from the end of the eleventh century. Several, of the type of Santullano (*sup. p. 56*), are remarkable as having horse-shoe arches struck from a single centre, and apses on a plan of the same form. In this they are also akin to San Miguel de Escalada (*sup. p. 67*). Others, also built on the plan of Santullano, are represented by Sant Climent and Santa Maria de Tahull, consecrated by Bishop Ramondus on the 10th and 11th December of the year 1123. They are interesting chiefly on account of their admirable paintings (Figs. 236–239), and also the abacus-capitals of the internal columns, the markedly Oriental minaret-belfry, and the timber roofs of the aisles, composed of closely set ribs, the king-post resting on the tie-beam. These are of the very ancient form introduced into Spain by the Musulman carpenters (*inf. p. 153*), and abandoned by the Romans before the time of Vitruvius. The general use of such constructive motives bears witness to the far-reaching influence and long duration of the Oriental tradition.

Certain other Catalan churches, although they belong to the Romanesque period, are too closely con-



FIG. 143.—ELNE (PYRÉ.-ORIENT.).  
MINARET-BELFRY.

(Phot. Labouche Brothers.)



FIG. 144.—GERONA. SAN NICOLAS.  
APSE AND CUPOLA.

(Author's Phot.)

## ART IN SPAIN

nected with the *proto-Mudejar* groups to be detached from them. Among these is the *Colegiata* of San Juan de las Abadesas (Catalonia) founded by Vilfredo el Belloso, about the period when he was restoring the churches of Tarrasa, and consecrated in 1150 (Figs. 147-148). It might be taken as the prototype of the western churches with ambulatories and apsidal chapels, were it not evident that its architect had not planned it with this arrangement in his mind, or he would have made the passages round the pillars of the choir less narrow. He must have taken as his model a building like San Pedro de Tarrasa. But when the walls had been raised, and the covering in of the chancel began, he did not venture to construct a semi-cupola of an unusual bearing (16 metres 50 cm. against 4 metres 50 cm. at Tarrasa), but substituted barrel vaults which he supported upon four piers, constructed in the prolongation of the nave, deliberately strangling the ambulatory thus created and masking the entrance to the apsidal chapels. In its present state, the sanctuary is comprised between these four piers and two pilasters connected laterally by arches, on the tympana of which rests a semi-circular vault and also the segmental vaults of the ambulatory. The nave, which is prolonged to the chevet, dominates the chancel by as much as this is raised above the arms of the transept. Finally, two enormous masses of masonry, interposed between the transept and the chevet, ensure the



FIG. 145.—BARCELONA. DOORWAY OF SAN PABLO.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 146.—BARCELONA. CLOISTER OF SAN PABLO.

(Phot. Levy.)

## ANTIQUE PERIODS

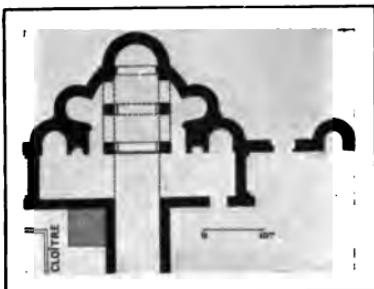


FIG. 147.—SAN JUAN DE LAS ABADESAS. CHEVET OF THE CHURCH, FRAGMENTS OF CURTAIN, AND TOWER OF THE FORTIFICATIONS.

(Drawing and Measurements by the Author.)

the *Colegiata* of San Juan. The church, situated on the Galligans, existed in the tenth century. When Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona (1113–1131), built that part of the *enceinte* of Gerona which descends from the summit crowned by the Cathedral to the valley of the Galligans, his engineers directed the rampart towards San Pedro, and brought it up against the apse, which they transformed into a defensive tower. Shortly afterwards, the church was given by the Count to the Benedictine Monastery of Santa Maria de la Crassa, included in the diocese of Carcassonne. The Abbot, who was the Bishop's brother, demolished part of the ancient buildings, and replaced them by a wide nave flanked by side-aisles with half-barrel vaults, rebuilt the Gospel side of the transept, and restored the rest. A small cloister (Fig. 149), dating from about the same period as this restoration, adjoins the church. It is crowned by machicolations. This decoration, borrowed from the military architecture of the East, remained a classic

solidity of this part of the building.

Like the majority of the monasteries built in districts where the monks lived in fear of armed attack, the *Colegiata* was protected by a fortified enclosure. We may still see the fragments of the curtain which prolonged the exterior wall of the transept—Epistle side—and one of the flanking towers (Fig. 147); the chevet performed the same office on the left.

San Pedro at Gerona (Fig. 142), has certain analogies with



FIG. 148.—SAN JUAN DE LAS ABADESAS. INTERIOR OF THE TRANSEPT.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 149.—GERONA. CLOISTER OF SAN PEDRO.

vestiges of the richness of the ancient abbey are the porch (Fig. 150), and the two-storeyed cloister (Figs. 151—152). The latter is Romanesque in style, but it is possible that it was not finished till the thirteenth century. The beautiful cloister of the church of Elne (Pyrénées-Orientales), seems to have had a similar history. These survivals are frequent in Spain.

Catalonia, French and Spanish, possesses three other large religious buildings, St. Martin du Canigou (Figs. 92, 154), the church of Arles-sur-Tech, and San Pedro el Viejo at Huesca, of the family of Santa Maria at Ripoll. Saint Martin is said to have been founded in 1001. Be this as it may, the Bull of canonical institution was sent in 1011 under the pontificate of Sergius IV. The church consists of three aisles, an apse, two apsidal chapels forming hemicycles, and an enormous battlemented bell-tower in the Musulman style. The nave is separated from the aisles by arches on columns. The shafts seem to have been borrowed from a Roman building. The capitals cut into the shape of rectangular truncated pyramids are akin to those in San Miguel at Lino (*sup. p. 59*) and in the *ajimeces* of the minaret belfries of the district. Their faces are covered with archaic

form throughout the Romanesque period.

The oldest parts of Santa Maria at Ripoll, situated to the south of San Juan de las Abadesas, date from the tenth and eleventh centuries. The present church was built at the end of the nineteenth century by Elias Rogent, the architect of the University of Barcelona. The sole

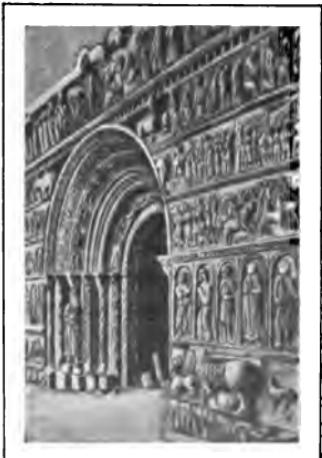


FIG. 150.—RIPOLL. PORCH OF THE CHURCH.

(Author's Phot.)

## ANTIQUE PERIODS

incised ornament, recalling that of the Asturian churches. Round the bell-tower, as at the top of the outer walls of the apse, is a course of machicolations. On the tympanum of the porch of San Pedro el Viejo at Huesca there is an ornament, the chrisma, which seems very ancient both in Spain and France. We cannot, however, argue from its presence that the church must have been built before the taking of Huesca in 1094, for it may have come from another part of the province. In its general arrangement, as in its details, San Pedro el Viejo, Huesca, belongs to the second half of the twelfth century.

Proto-Romanesque sculpture is known by the little bas-reliefs in San Miguel of Lino, Santa Maria of Naranco, Santa Cristina of Lena, San Pedro of Nave, Saint Martin du Canigou (Figs. 114, 115, 121, 123, 124, 154),

and by tombstones (Fig. 156). Certain subjects (Figs. 114, 115) seem to have been borrowed from pagan or Christian diptychs ; others (Figs. 123, 124, 156) from Oriental ivories, the style and technique of which they have adopted (*inf. p. 94*).

The first manifestations of painting are so uncertain in date that they cannot be fittingly included in this chapter. But this is not the case of the miniatures in the manuscripts called Visigothic on account of the characters in which they are written. They are executed on vellum.

The Comes Manuscript (Nat. Lib. of Madrid, A.D. 744-756),



FIG. 151.—RIPOLI.—TWO-STORYED CLOISTER OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.

(*Author's Phot.*)



FIG. 152.—RIPOLL. CAPITALS IN CLOISTER.

(*Author's Phot.*)

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FIG. 153.—ELNE PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES.  
THE CLOISTER.  
(Phot. Labouche Brothers.)

(975). It is signed by the scribe : *Senior presbiter scripsit* and by the painter, a woman : *Ende pintrix et Dei adjutrix*. The copy known as that of San Millan de la Cogulla in the Academy of History at Madrid dates from the end of the tenth century. That of the National Library (Figs. 157–159) is signed by the copyist : *Facundus scripsit*, and dated : “1085 of the era of Spain” (A.D. 1057). The backgrounds of the miniatures are horizontal bands of different colours, purple, blue, green, yellow, grey. The best copy of the Commentary of Beatus (cf. Figs. 158 and 163), belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Lat. 8878*). It has numerous compositions firmly and boldly drawn (Figs. 160–164). These four manuscripts are in the *proto-Mudejar* style. The horse-shoe arch and polychrome facings of pottery in the Persian style appear in the representation of buildings (Figs. 158, 159); the horsemen ride on Arab saddles; the crescent figures on the harness; the sacramental formula of Islam and *surates*<sup>1</sup> in beautiful Carmatic or Cufic characters are combined with ornaments of Western style and Latin inscriptions (Fig. 161).

<sup>1</sup> Names of the chapters of the Koran.

the Missal of San Millan de la Cogulla (Acad. of History, Madrid, ninth century), the great Bible of San Isidoro of Leon (c. 960), are among the earliest. The drawing is no less barbaric than the illumination.

The next in order is the Commentary of Saint Beatus of Liebana on the Apocalypse. The most ancient text is at Gerona



FIG. 154.—SAINT-MARTIN DU CANIGOU.  
(PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES).  
NAVE AND AISLES  
(Phot. Kiechle.)

## ANTIQUE PERIODS

With these commentaries we may class the Codice Vigilanus (976) and the Codice Emilianus (980) of the Escorial Library. The first contains numerous portraits, notably those of the scribe Vigila and his collaborators *Sarraceno y el otro*

*Garcia*, and a view of the walls and the two churches of Toledo, faced with polychrome faience (cf. Fig. 159). The miniatures of

the second are not finished. The drawing is still very naive; the great eyes seem to eat up the faces; the extremities are abnormal in their proportions. We shall find some of the characteristics of these works in those of the Catalan primitives (Figs. 231-239).

Goldsmith's work and church furniture are represented by objects of real artistic value. They are nearly all in the treasury of the Camara Santa at Oviedo.

The Cross of the Angels (Cruz de los Angeles, Fig. 167), and the Cross of Victory (Cruz de la Victoria, Fig. 166), with the slight expansion towards the ends of their arms, recall the cross of the treasure of Guarrazar. The Cross of the Angels was, it is said, given to the Cathedral by Alonso II (792-842). It is filigree work of exquisite delicacy, amidst which uncut rubies and engraved gems are set.

The Cross of Victory is of wood. Alonso III (866-910), had it covered with chased gold and precious stones.

The reliquary of Saint Eulalia (Arca de Santa Eulalia), is interesting more especially because of the Cufic inscription on the lid. If we may trust to the general style, to the allusions made in this inscription, and to the protocol of the



FIG. 155.—CHRISMA. SAN PEDRO EL VIEJO, HUESCA.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 156.—SEPULCHRAL STONE IN THE SASANIAN STYLE.  
(Inf. p. 94.) (Camara Santa, Oviedo.)  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

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king, it must date from the reign of Alonso VI (1073-1108).

The coffer of the Holy Relics (Arca de las Santas Reliquias), is composed of heterogeneous elements. It appears that the Apostles engraved on the lid wear vestments described by Saint Isidoro, and that the Latin inscription is also of the sixth or seventh century. On the other hand, the Saviour, the attendant Angels, the Cufic inscription which enframes them, as well as the mounting of the reliquary, were executed in the reign of Alonso VI, at the same time as the reliquary of Saint Eulalia.

*Musulman Arts.*—The most ancient fragments of Spanish

FIG. 157.—“UBI MULIER SEDET SUPER BESTIAM.”  
COMMENTARY OF BEATUS ON APOCALYPSE.

(Nat. Lib. of Madrid.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 158.—“VOX CLAMANTIS IN  
DESERTO: PARATE VIAM DOMINO.”

BEATUS.

(Nat. Lib. of Madrid.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 157.—“UBI MULIER SEDET SUPER BESTIAM.”  
COMMENTARY OF BEATUS ON APOCALYPSE.

(Nat. Lib. of Madrid.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

Musulman art come from Merida (Fig. 168-170). As the Visigothic town was sacked by Musa in 713, and the Arab town was destroyed and pillaged by the Christians in 853, these fragments go back to the middle of the eighth century. The use of the *nashki* in the inscriptions confirms this. Among the fragments are pilasters with their capitals, their faces covered with decorative sculptures, *ajimeces* with their stone open work, grooved shells, capitals like those at Tag-é Bostan with decorations like those on the Ewer of Saint Maurice (Fig. 47) and Persian ogival interlacements, the design of which first appeared at Okhaidher. In addition to the fragments in the Museum, there are two very fine specimens from a ruined building

## ANTIQUE PERIODS

which have been used to repair the underground staircase leading to a deep well (Figs. 169, 170). Certain motives of a western character were borrowed from Visigothic or Hellenistic architecture ; the others are derived from the pre-Islamite arts of the East.

The mosque of Cordova, half a century later than the buildings of Merida, was begun by Abd er Rahman in 785 (Figs. 56, 80, 171). But three years later the works were arrested by the death of the king. Continued in 793 by Hisham I, son and successor of Abd er Rahman, they were completed in 796. In this state, the mosque comprised the nave of the *mihrab* and ten narrower aisles, divided into twelve bays by rows of columns.

Abd er Rahman II (833-848) added seven more bays on the south to the eleven existing aisles, a second *mihrab*, and a *maksura* with a dome which still exists.

A century later, Hakem II el Mostansir Billah (987-990), finding the mosque inadequate, again increased its depth by the addition of fourteen bays, and built the present *mihrab* and *maksura* (961-967). Finally, in the reign of Hisham II, his famous *hadjib* (Vizier) El Mansur, enlarged the mosque towards the east and caused eight new aisles to rise above all the rest of the building (987).

Double arches, one above the other, sustain a horizontal ceiling with painted and gilded beams. From the point where their horizontal courses cease, the voussoirs are alternately white and pink. The columns, of porphyry, jasper and precious marble, come from Roman and Visigothic



FIG. 159.—“UBI BABILON ID EST  
ISTE MUNDUS ARDET.” BEATUS.  
(Nat. Lib. of Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

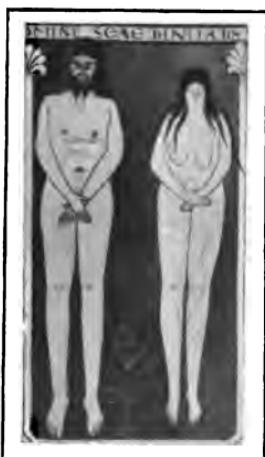


FIG. 160.—ADAM AND EVE.  
BEATUS.  
(Bibl. Nat. of Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 161.—“ALLAH SEUL EST DIEU . . .”  
BEATUS.

(Bibl. Nat. of Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

points and carry the thrust to the interior, between these points, eight apertures, in which pierced slabs are set. The *mihrab*, on its part, the plan of which, a horse-shoe arch, has the same Oriental attachments as that of the proto-*Mudejar* apses (*sup. pp. 67, 70*), is covered by a grooved shell, carved in a slab of marble (see p. 13). The external buttresses and the modillions with the cyma are also noteworthy.

The splendour of the mosque of Cordova and of the palaces built by the Ommiades both in their capital and at Medinet ez Zahra caused them to be regarded as models which were copied down to the time when their renown waned before that of the Andalusian palaces.

monuments, at Nimes, Narbonne, and even Carthage, where the ancient buildings were laid under contribution.

The most sumptuous parts of the mosque are the enclosed *maksura* and the projecting *mihrab* which follows it. Adorned with rare marbles, decorated with Byzantine mosaics surrounded by a net-work of cusped arches interlaced and superposed, they carry out a canonical arrangement of the eastern churches (*sup. pp. 32-35, 37, 38*; Fig. 70). The central bay of the *maksura* is surmounted by a cupola on squinch arches, akin to that of the Armenian church of Akhpat (Fig. 75). Its ribs, which form a spherical star of eight



FIG. 162.—“DOMINUS IN NUBIBUS ET  
VIDENT EUM INIMICI EJUS ET QUI  
EUM PUPUGERUNT.” BEATUS.  
(Bibl. Nat. of Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 163.—GOSPEL OF SAINT LUKE.  
BEATUS.  
(Bibl. Nat. of Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

city recognised the authority of the Emirs of Cordova. The plan of Santo Cristo de la Luz (variety  $\alpha\beta\delta$ ) is a square traversed by a cross (Fig. 174). Over the intersection of nave and transept there is a ribbed cupola in the style of Cordova. The columns, a rough assemblage of heterogeneous shafts and capitals, recall those of Santullano. The cusped windows, strengthened by a *tas-de-charge*, resemble the loop-holes of Santa Cristina de Lena (Fig. 119), and are identical with the windows in the mosque of Samarra (Fig. 84). In spite of the many modifications the Santo Cristo has undergone (the last restoration took place about 1830), the character of the ancient parts shows that the mosque must have been built in the middle of the tenth century.

A building at Palma (in the island of Majorca), the Casa Font

The Aljaferia of Saragossa (Figs. 172, 173) was constructed in the last years of the Musulman occupation (between 1039 and 1081). Here fancy has been allowed even freer play than in the *maksura* of the Mosque of Cordova. The cusped arches intertwine and undulate like ribbons; the projecting members of the architecture are rich with delicate ornament.

Toledo, the capital of the Visigoths, was also favoured by the Musulman chiefs. Various fragments of architecture, and two ancient mosques, Santo Cristo de la Luz and Las Tornerias, have survived from the period when the



FIG. 164.—“QUARTUS ANGELUS EFFUDIT FIALAM SUAM SUPER SOLEM.” BEATUS.  
(Bibl. Nat. of Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

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y Roig (Figs. 8, 175), known as the *Moorish Baths*, and no less precious than the Santo Cristo, also belongs to the period of the Caliphate. The vaults—cupolas on squinches, barrel vaults, and groined vaults—rest by the intermediary of horse-shoe arches upon twelve columns, which are arranged to accord with the angles and the sides of a central square. In the general arrangement we recognise a new variety of the theme  $\alpha\beta$  of the palace of Sarvistan (Fig. 3, Hall B).

*The Minor Arts.*—Among the Mesopotamian and Persian artists summoned to Spain by the Caliphs of Cordova were ivory-carvers of incomparable skill. The most ancient specimens of their work bear the name of Abd-er-Rahman III (912–951 A.D.). They are two jewel caskets made for a daughter of the monarch (Museum, Burgos) and for Saidet Allah, one of his wives (Fig. 178). The beautiful floral decoration of the latter, and more especially the palm-leaves with interlaced stems resembling the confronted wings of the *feruer*, are in the Sassanian style (*sup. p. 21*).



FIG. 165.—CODICE VIGILANUS.

(Library of the Escorial.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 166.—CROSS OF VICTORY.

(Cathedral of Oviedo.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

Art of the time of El Hakem II El Mostansir Billah (961–976, A.D.) whose reign was contemporary with the construction of the *mihrab* at Cordova, is represented by a great many examples. The great casket of the Cathedral of Pampeluna is justly regarded as the most precious (Fig. 176). Cusped medallions (cf. Fig. 35) contain hunting, battle, and domestic scenes, in which the influence of Sassanian art persists, though in a modified form. A fine Cufic inscription at the base of the lid

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FIG. 167.—CROSS OF THE ANGELS.  
(Cathedral of Oviedo.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

horn, said to have belonged to Gaston of Bearn, and a casket (Fig. 181), dating from the period of the decadence of the province of Tarifa (end of the eleventh century), must also be mentioned, the latter in virtue of the beautiful use made of ivory in the marquetry.

In addition to pieces for the Musulman princes, the ivory carvers made reliquaries and processional crosses for the Christians. Among them are the Shrine of San Millan (Figs. 179, 180), offered by Don Sancho III el Mayor (1010–1038), to San Millan de la Cogolla (province of Rioja), and the famous cross of San Fernando (1230–1252), from San Isidoro of Leon. The ivories of the Shrine are in the proto-Mudejar style. The cross (Fig. 182) bears two inscriptions. One of these, placed below the Christ, reads as follows: *Ferdinandus Rex, Sancia Regina*. A fine marble basin for ablutions, ordered by

tells us that the casket was executed for Abd-el-Melek-ben-el-Mansur in 395 (A.D. 1005). The Cathedral of Braga (Portugal) owns another ivory casket inscribed with the same name.

After the ivories of the reign of Hisham II, the next in order are two coffers ordered from an artist of Cuenca, Abd-er-Rahman ben-Zayan, who enjoyed a long celebrity. The earlier of the two (1026 A.D.) is in the Museum at Burgos; the second (1050 A.D.), of pierced ivory on a background of gilded leather (Fig. 177), rivals the Pampeluna coffer in size. The



FIG. 168.—IN THE BACKGROUND, MUSULMAN SCULPTURES.  
(Museum of Merida.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 169.—DECORATED PILLAR,  
WELL AT MERIDA.  
(Author's Phot.)

similar pieces, perhaps part of the same booty (Fig. 185). Generally speaking, they are characterised by animals confronting one another, and conventionalised plants, recalling the Sassanian materials and the earliest Muslim



FIG. 170.—DECORATED  
LINTEL, WELL AT MERIDA.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 171.—CORDOVA. INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE.  
(See Figs. 56, 80.) (Phot. Anderson.)

El Mansur, *hadjib* of Hisham II (Fig. 211), and a stag in bronze (Fig. 183), found in the ruins of Medinet ez Zahra (near Cordova), are of the same period as the ivory caskets, and may be ranked with these.

The museum of Vich owns a collection of Oriental silks the more precious in that they seem to have been brought from Valencia by the Bishop Bernardo Calvo, who commanded the contingent raised in his diocese when Jaime I of Aragon re-took the town from the Musulmans (Sept. 28, 1238). The basilica of Saint Sernin at Toulouse and the Musée de Cluny in Paris contain

sul-  
man  
ivo-  
ries.

In the centre of medallions enframed by passant lions, one of them shows the figure of Ghilgamesh, the Hercules of ancient Chaldaea (Fig. 186). The usual colours are crimson, golden yellow, a strong green, blue of an indigo tint, and gray. All these materials have a splendour

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and a harmony worthy of the reputation the Persian workshops had won.

The moment has now come to deduce results from our analysis of the Christian and Musulman buildings with which Spain was enriched between the eighth and eleventh centuries. A comparative study of the church and the mosque and the special monographs on which it is based enable us to divine them. In a general way, no doubts can arise save as to the Oriental origin of certain Asturian, Castilian and Catalan themes. Some of these may have been nationalised in the West as far back as the Roman period, and others, adopted by Byzantium, may have been introduced into Spain during the reign of the Visigothic monarchs. But in any case, there are others which were never used either in Rome or Byzantium before the Arab conquest of Spain, and were only found in Irano-Syrian buildings. These are by far the most numerous, the most obvious, and the most characteristic. To this category belong the cupola on squinches, the ribbed vault of Tag-e-Ivan, of the Kasr Kharaneh and of the Koseir Amra (Figs. 25, 29, 68), the arched abutments of the axial barrel vault (variety  $\gamma'$ ) of the palaces of Sarvestan, Mshatta and El Okhaidher (Figs. 3, 4, 23, 31), the external buttresses (*sup. pp. 9, 15, 16*), the horse-shoe arches, either on plan (Figs. 70, 72), or in elevation (*sup. p. 64-65*), cusped arches (Figs. 28, 34, 35) the cruciform arrangements  $a$ ,  $a'$ ,  $a\delta$ ,  $a\beta\delta$



FIG. 172.—SARAGOSSA. ARCHES OF THE ALJAFERIA.

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 173.—SARAGOSSA. CUSPED ARCH OF THE ALJAFERIA.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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of the palaces of Sarvistan and Mshatta and of the Prætorium of Phæna (Figs. 6, 66), reproduced at San Miguel de Lino (Figs. 11, 112-115), Santa Cristina de Lena (Figs. 12, 118-121), San Pedro (Fig. 141), and San Miguel de Tarrasa (Figs. 13, 139, 140). Nor can we refer to Byzantine art, such features as the minaret-belfry (*sup.* p. 72), modillions with the cyma (*sup.* pp. 67, 84), and bands of saw-tooth decoration, nor Saint Genides-Fontaines (Pyrenees-Orientales, 1020-1021), which belongs to the Catalan group of Pedret, San Feliu de Baoda and San Feliu de Giuxols (*sup.* p. 75).

On the massive lintel of the door we find representations of horse-shoe arches sheltering the Apostles, and interrupted by two secant circles, within which is a Christ enthroned (Fig. 187). Not only did the architects of the Lower Empire never use the horse-shoe arch, but their sculptors were long averse from the representation of divine figures.

The dearth of characteristic Byzantine motives in the proto-Roman buildings of Spain



FIG. 74.—TOLEDO. SANTO CRISTO  
DE LA LUZ.

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 175.—PALMA. CASA FONT Y ROIG.

(See Plan, Fig. 8.)

was a consequence of the Arab conquest. Masters of the Mediterranean coast, with outposts in Sicily and the Balearic Isles, the Musulmans had made navigation so perilous that maritime traffic between the ports of East and West had ceased, and new communications had been established by way of the Archipelago and the Adriatic. Merchandise coming from

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Byzantium was unloaded at Venice, taken by the overland route to Milan and Genoa, and traversed France obliquely, to be re-embarked at La Rochelle where its destination was Brittany, Flanders or England. And, as a fact, the Western buildings which betray Byzantine influences are to be found in two zones, which unite in the exarchate of Ravenna.

One follows the banks of the Rhine and culminates at Reichenau and Aix-la-Chapelle. The other corresponds with the territories of Arles and Narbonne, extends over Périgord, comprises Cahors, Angoulême and Montmoreau, and reaches its extreme limit at Fontevrault (Maine-et-Loire). The Rhenish Schools certainly reflected some rays of the artistic civilization of Byzantium towards the South—the mural paintings of the oldest Catalan churches demonstrate this—but these influences were indirect, consequent on the easy transport of manuscripts with figures executed by Western miniaturists (*inf. p. 119-121*). This explains why Spain lost touch with the Lower Empire as early as the eighth century, and why the Byzantine characteristics of Visigothic architecture diminished till they disappeared altogether in Christian edifices built in the Asturias and in Catalonia after the expulsion of the Musulmans.

This first point established, we may ask by what route the Irano-Syrian models made their way into Spain? Here again the facts speak for themselves. We will nevertheless verify their assertions.

Various roads have been suggested for the diffusion of the Persian



FIG. 176.—IVORY CASKET OF ABD EL MEIRK.  
(Cathedral of Pampluna.)  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)



FIG. 177.—COFFER OF THE CATHEDRAL OF PALENCIA.  
(Archæol. Museum of Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 178.—IVORY CASKET OF  
SAÏDET ALLAH.  
(Victoria and Albert Museum,  
London.)

cause they are too long, and because methods of construction and architectural themes are propagated much more slowly than decorative motives and travellers' tales.

On the other hand, outside the zones dominated by Byzantine influences, there are some very ancient churches in France which can only be compared to Irano-Syrian buildings. The Church

of Germigny - des - Prés, founded in 806, and successively burnt, restored, demolished, and reconstructed, is of the number (Fig. 188). In spite of the extensive modifications it has undergone, it has preserved in its plan of variety  $\alpha\beta\delta$ , in the carved stuccoes which decorate the coupled windows (veritable *ajimeces*) of the minaret-belfry, in the ornaments, in certain details of con-



FIG. 179.—SHRINE OF SAN MILLAN  
(LAST SUPPER).  
(San Millan de la Cogolla.)  
(Phot. Hauser v Menet.)

## ANTIQUE PERIODS

struction, and above all, in the horse-shoe arches, certain traits peculiar to Persian architecture. The mosaic of the apse is frankly Byzantine, but this is a supplementary decoration, analogous to that of the *mihrab* of Cordova (*sup. p. 84*).

Saint Philibert at Tournus (Fig. 189), consecrated in 1019, and one or two little neighbouring churches exactly reproduce the Sassanian vault described in Chap. I., while the Cathedral of Le Puy (Figs. 190-192) has the cupola on pendentives of El Okhaidher (Fig. 54), the horse-shoe arches of Rabbath-Amman, and the Mosque of Amru (Fig. 60), the modillions of Cordova, and a long inscription in Arabic characters over the door.

Various considerations, chronological, architectonic, and political, forbid the idea that these Persian influences can have penetrated into France either from the north, from Byzantium, from the delta of the Nile, or through Sicily and Italy. If, therefore, we must conclude that the Irano-Syrian arts entered France neither from the North, the East, the West, nor the South-West, they must have taken the one route left open to them, and this was the route opened by the Arab invasion in Spain. We ought long ago to have adopted the only solution which harmonises with historical and archaeological data. But our tardy acquaintance with the ancient



FIG. 180.—SHRINE OF SAN MILLAN.  
“Ubi Leovigilido rege (572-586),  
Cantabros affdet” (doubtless ‘afficit’  
with ‘suppicio’ implied.)  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)



FIG. 181.—SAN ISIDORO, LEON. WOODEN CASKET  
INLAID WITH IVORY.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 182.—CROSS OF SAN FERNANDO (FACE), IVORY FROM SAN ISIDORO, LEON.

(Archaeol. Museum of Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

architecture of Persia, and the habit of attributing all western buildings in an Oriental style to the artistic influences of the Lower Empire, led authorities on both sides of the Pyrenees to assign a later date to the old churches of the Asturias, Castille and Catalonia, than to those French churches in the Persian style which were erroneously held to be Byzantine. This was to turn back to the source a current whose true direction is to be determined by a comparative chronological study of kindred French and Spanish buildings.

It will hardly be necessary now to insist how rigorously and powerfully this reasoning concerning France applies to Spain, which throughout the eighth and ninth centuries was almost submerged by the Islamite flood.

In the re-conquered provinces—

Galicia, the Asturias, Navarre, Castille, and Catalonia—the Christians did not immediately assimilate the whole Musulman programme. Their choice fell first upon certain ornaments. Thus the fine tumular stones of Oviedo (end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century) show a combination of the vine-branches of Hellenistic Christian art with the Sassanian confronted wings, or *feruer*, and the ritual girdle with floating ends, or *kosti* (Fig. 156; cf. Figs. 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 47, 48, 51, 53) Then, the architects imitated the parts of Roman tradition which were easily interpreted. Thus, while adopting the plans of the church-mosque built in Spain after the type



FIG. 183.—BRONZE STAG.  
(Museum, Cordova.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 184.—TROUGH FOR ABLUTIONS.

(Archæol. Museum of Madrid.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

of Tarrasa, so clearly characterised by their cupolas on squinches, their Irano-Syrian plans, and their apses on the horse-shoe plan (Figs. 139-141).

The progress of the re-conquest favoured the acclimatisation of the Musulman arts. But the two decisive events were the taking of Barcelona by Louis le Débonnaire (801) and the sack of Merida (835). Now it was just after these glorious campaigns, soon followed by expeditions directed in Castille by Alonso III, the Great (910-913), and in Catalonia by Vilfredo el Belloso (864-896) that the conquerors built those churches which reflect more and more clearly the arts of the Iranian East.

We shall be the less surprised at the material levies upon the arts of Islam when we recognise that Spain, in spite of her religious zeal and patriotism, received from the Musulmans that singular accommodation between predestination and free-will which these had borrowed from the Stoic schools of Alexandria; that the Asturian monarchs confided the education of

of the pre-Islamic Oriental churches (*sup. pp. 36, 37*), and preserving the aspect of their models, they substituted barrel vaults for cupolas. This was a first stage of brief duration. Becoming bolder as they gained experience, architects executed copies which increased rapidly in fidelity. The proto-*Mudejar* churches characterise a second stage. The third is seen in the churches



FIG. 185.—PEACOCKS AND DOES.

Ins. : "Bénédiction parfaite." (Saint-Sernin, Toulouse. Musée de Cluny, Paris.)

(Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 186.—GILGAMESH (ISDUBAR) STRANGLING LIONS. (See Dieulafoy, "Acrop. de Suse," Figs. 143, 342, 343, 369-372.)  
(Museum, Vich.) (Phot. Thomas.)

religious manuscripts to their painters, as, for instance, that *Sarracero* (Saracen) whose name appears in the famous Codex Vigilanus (*sup. p. 81*), and those Moorish captives, the *Sarreceni* who worked at the construction of the Abbey of Silos.

Very soon these workmen became so numerous that the Spanish language has retained the Arab terminology in many architectural terms to this day.

The history of the political relations of France and Catalonia confirms the facts revealed by the archaeological study of monuments. As early as the eighth century, French Catalonia and Spanish Catalonia, first under the domination of France, and then under the sway of the Counts of Barcelona, formed a single principality. And its sovereigns, whether Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire or Vilfredo el Beloso, commanded expeditions against the Musulmans in person. The religious and social intercourse was no less close than the political relations. The clergy, both regular and secular, acknowledged the same



FIG. 187.—CHRIST IN GLORY. ANGELS AND APOSTLES.  
(Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines.)  
(Phot. Cagarriga.)

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FIG. 188.—GERMIGNY-DES-PRÉS. CHURCH. NAVE AISLES, AND APSE AFTER RESTORATION.  
(Phot. *Monuments historiques*.)

there was a load of Irano-Syrian themes which was absent in France; thus, the current set from South to North, and from the ninth century onwards it carried with it in succession the cupola on squinch arches, the irregular ribbed vault from which the Gothic vault was to be evolved, the cruciform Irano-Syrian themes (*sup. p. 33*), the external buttresses, the arched abutments of naves, the minaret-belfry, horse-shoe arches, cusped arches, inscriptions in Cufic or pseudo-Cufic characters, bands of saw-tooth ornament (*sup. pp. 38-41*), and certain motives and ornaments already noted in the Mosque of Cordova, such as the modillions with the cyma, the polychrome arch-stones (*sup. pp. 83-85*, and Figs. 56, 171), which are to be found in conjunction with many other Oriental motives in Romanesque buildings (*sup. p. 92*, and Figs. 190-192.)

The West was vegetating on its old Latin basis, and on the more recent deposits of the Lower Empire when the favourite themes of Persian architecture over-stepped the boundaries of

chiefs; the people belonged to the same race and spoke the same language. Roussillon and the present department of L'Hérault were in such close communication with the Spain of the Caliphs that the Faculty of Montpellier was a regular Musulman University.

Indeed, the countries on either side of the Eastern Pyrenees were like two connected vases. On Spanish Catalonia,



FIG. 189.—TOURNUS. NAVE OF SAINT-PHILIBERT.

(Comp. Figs. 25, 29, 69.)  
(Phot. *Bernardot*.)

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FIG. 190.—NAVE OF NOTRE-DAME DU PUY.

(Pointed, stilted transverse arches, supporting cupolas on squinches. Comp. Fig. 54.)

(Phot. Neurdein.)

to Cordova and brought back Aurelian. Thus, when the Iranian seed was scattered, it germinated promptly and vigorously. Meanwhile, methods improved, technique became more perfect, and after having reached and passed the right bank of the Rhine, the current which had set from Catalonia, always apparent, though it had been attacked and modified by the centres it had traversed, descended from Burgundy and Auvergne to Toulouse, crossed the Western Pyrenees, entered Navarre, penetrated into Galicia, and ended at Santiago de Compostela. Barely a century had elapsed since it had issued, pure of any admixture, from Spain by the ports of the Eastern Pyrenees.

Roussillon, arrived in France, in Germany (Rhine Province, and Hesse-Darmstadt), vivified the antique traditions and promoted the awakening of forces which had been paralysed by terror of the year 1000. Already, at certain points, pilgrims, master-builders, and workmen had played the part of pioneers, and had prepared the ground. Indeed, under the first Ommiade Caliphs, the relations between the Mozarabian Christians of Andalusia, and the Catholics of Spain and France, had remained, if not active, at least continuous. Among other travellers I might cite, I will note that as early as 858 two monks of Saint Germain-des-Prés went relics of St. George and St.



FIG. 191.—NOTRE-DAME DU PUY.  
DETAIL OF THE FAÇADE.

(Phot. Neurdein.)

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This exodus and return of influences have not, I believe, been noted before. They are of such importance to the general history of architecture that I have been anxious to bring them clearly to light before entering upon an examination of Romanesque buildings.

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FIG. 192.—NOTRE-DAME DU PUY. THE CLOISTER.

(Phot. Neurdein.)



FIG. 193.—AVILA. WEST PORCH OF SAN VICENTE.  
(Phot. Lévy.)

## CHAPTER IV

### ROMANESQUE PERIOD

*Santiago de Compostela and Saint Sernin of Toulouse.—Progress and Variations of Romanesque Cluniac Architecture.—Military Architecture.—Sculpture.—Primitive Catalan Painting.—Mudejar Frescoes.—Mudejar Manuscripts.—Enamels.—Muselman Arts.*

THE very gradual retreat of the Musulmans before the Christian armies of Spain did not enable Romanesque architecture to become acclimatised in any but the northern provinces. But here it developed and flourished with a vigour attested by the splendour of the cathedrals and the multiplicity of small churches still standing in town and country.

It was in the reign of Sancho III. (1000—1038) and under the ægis of the Benedictines of Cluny that Romanesque architecture appeared in Navarre under the conditions described on p. 98. San Salvador de Fuentes (near Gijon), and San Martin de Fromista are among the first churches in which the new influences are apparent.

San Martin was not yet finished when Alonso VI. (1073—1108) decreed, and his architects began the reconstruction of the famous basilica of Santiago de Compostela, which El Mansur, the

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*hadjib* of Hisham II., had destroyed during the terrible raid of 997 (Figs. 194, 195, 197).

Alonso VI. had also put his trust in the Clunisians, and had assigned the new basilica to them. They, for their part, had chosen as their architect a representative of that gifted School of Auvergne to whom France owes Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont, Notre Dame at Orcival, Saint Paul at Issoire, Saint Etienne at Nevers, Sainte Foy at Conques (Aveyron) and Saint Sernin at Toulouse.

According to the *Codice Calixtino* (book v.) the basilica was founded in 1074 or 1075.

This date seems to be correct. The work as a whole, however, was not completed till 1128, having lasted from 53 to 54 years.

It was long supposed that Santiago was copied from Saint Sernin at Toulouse. This was a mistake. The two buildings are contemporary. If a similar indirect appropriation of Irano-Catalan themes makes them comparable, there are nevertheless appreciable differences between them. Saint Sernin, for instance, has five aisles as against three at Santiago. On the other hand, the sanctuary is longer at Compostela than at Toulouse, and gives the chevet of the Galician basilica as a whole an importance still further enhanced by the prolongation of the upper gallery right round the apse. In addition to these distinctions of a general kind, others, though less essential, affect the aspect of the building even more. Such are, at Santiago, the in-



FIG. 194. SANTIAGO. BASILICA.  
PLATERIA DOOR.



FIG. 195.—SANTIAGO. TRANSEPT OF THE  
BASILICA.

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FIG. 196.—LEON. DOOR OF SAN ISIDORO. (Details, Fig. 213.)  
(Author's Phot.)

Like the basilica of Santiago, the *Colegiata* of San Isidoro at Leon was begun in the reign of Alonso VI. (Figs. 196, 213). The

introduction of four columns set against the faces of each pier to receive the arcs-doubleaux of the nave and the aisles as well as the intrados of the arches, instead, and in the place of, the single column and the pilasters of Saint Sernin. Finally there are at Santiago trilobate arches (*sup. p. 75*) and semi-circular arches very much stilted which are not to be found at Saint Sernin. In short, the basilica of Toulouse is more Roman, that of Compostela more oriental, but they are equals in grandeur and in solemn beauty.



FIG. 198.—LEON. PANTHEON OF THE KINGS.  
(Author's Phot.)

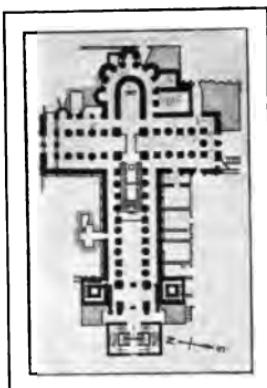


FIG. 197.—SANTIAGO. PLAN OF THE BASILICA.

church consisted of three aisles with transepts and apse and apsidal chapels. In 1513, the clergy, anxious to enlarge it, substituted a choir and a vast sanctuary for the primitive apse. The transept with its two apsidal chapels, the nave, the aisles and the chapel of Santa Catalina were, however, respected. The ancient church, with the exception of the apses, is covered by barrel vaults re-inforced by semi-circular arcs doubleaux. They form continuous curves in the nave, and oriental

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polylobe curves in the transept (*sup.* pp. 15, 40, 68, 102). The most interesting feature of San Isidoro is the method of illumination. The slight inclination of the aisle-roofs made it possible to suppress the triforium, and its apertures were replaced by windows. This solution, which was adopted at about the same period at San Pedro de Galligans (*sup.* p. 77) was facilitated in Spain by the climate, whereas in the north, where rain is so frequent, it was not adopted until later, when the cylindric vaults had been sufficiently raised to admit of lighting directly from below their springing.

At the front of the church a kind of narthex contains the sepulchral chapel of Santa Catalina, which served as a Pantheon for the ancient kings of Castille (Fig. 198). The sturdy columns, their capitals, the arcs-doubleaux and the indecisive groined vaults which are transformed into flat cupolas after the horizontal courses, are closely related to the crypt of Saint Eutrope at Saintes. It is, indeed, supposed that the narthex was built a few years later than the church itself.

The Cathedral of Avila, San Salvador, also originated in the School of Cluny, though it was the work of a Navarrese born at Estella, one Alvar Garcia. It was begun in 1091, modified in 1252, and restored in 1280 and in 1290, *que estabe mal parada para se caer* (because it threatened to fall). The original church had a barrel vault on a triforium; in the course of the restorations, this was replaced by the



FIG. 199.—AVILA. NAVE OF SAN VICENTE.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 200.—ZAMORA. MINARET-BELFRY AND LANTERN OF THE CATHEDRAL.  
(Author's Phot.)

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Gothic groined vault which now covers the nave.

A second church of Avila, San Vicente, occupies a much more important place than the cathedral in the archæological history of Romanesque Spain (Figs. 193, 199, 211). In style, indeed, it belongs to the architecture of the end of the eleventh century; but the low triforium of the nave, and the windows above it, seem already to invoke the Gothic vault. This substitution of Burgundian Cluniac for Auvergnat Cluniac coincided with the presence of Alphonse Raymond at the head of the Government, and must be attributed to his influence. The prince belonged to the house of Burgundy, and ruled in the name of his wife, after the death of his father-in-law, Alonso VI, in 1108.

Zamora *la bien Cercada* (the well walled), is, in spite of its title, one of the towns which was most frequently taken by assault.

Alonso I. wrested it from the Musulmans in 748; Abd er Rahman took it from the Asturians in 939. Some years later (984), El Mansur razed the walls. Then Fernando I. once more took it from the Moors, and gave it to his daughter Urraca as her dowry (1065).

The very vicissitudes to which it was subjected caused the religious buildings of Zamora to escape to some extent the influences which dominated elsewhere. Thus the cathedral (Figs. 200, 201, 216), which differs from contemporary churches neither in plan nor construction, is distinguished by two



FIG. 201.—ZAMORA. PORCH OF THE CATHEDRAL. (Details, Fig. 216.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 202.—SALAMANCA. NAVE OF THE OLD CATHEDRAL.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 203.—SEGOVIA.—PORCH OF SAN MARTIN.

(Author's Phot.)

belfries (*sup.* pp. 36, 72, 75), whereas in the porch, the Corinthian columns and the niches (Figs. 201, 216) might have been detached from a monument of the Roman decadence.

Zamora possesses churches more ancient than her cathedral. They are of the number of those which are classified as Visigothic churches, because they have horse-shoe arches of a non-pronounced type. Now the town of Zamora, which was taken, re-taken, and ravaged several times, has no existing buildings anterior to the eleventh century. If the arches of Santiago de los Caballeros and other churches show but a very slight contraction, it is because from the date of the Almoravide conquest (1090), the tendency of Musulman architects was to revert to the horse-shoe arch in its less pronounced form.

The Old Cathedral of Salamanca, begun in 1120 and finished in 1178

features very rare in Spain. Like the ancient cathedral of Salamanca, it has a cupola on pendentives, and, like the same building and the cathedral of Evora (Fig. 594), a central lantern with numerous windows, pinnacles at the angles, ribs, and an ovoid outline which recalls the Abbaye des Dames at Saintes and several other buildings of Angoumois and Saintonge. The archivolt of the great door, its sweep and proportions, and its ornaments establish new relations with the churches of the Gironde—Loupiac—and of the Charente—Surgère. On the other hand, the bell-tower, which resembles a donjon (Fig. 200; *cf.* Figs. 92, 143), is of the classic type of minaret-



FIG. 204.—SEGOVIA.—PORCH AND MINARET-BELFRY OF SAN ESTEBAN.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 205.—ESTELLA. PALACE OF THE  
DUKES OF GRANADA.  
(Author's Phot.)

Valdedios, and San Miguel de Estella (Fig. 133, 134). As they preceded lateral porches, it might be supposed that they represent a fraction of an unfinished or destroyed cloister. The churches of Segovia, and the ancient church of the Templars at Eunate (Navarre), show that this was not the case. Far from enclosing a court, the porticoes surrounded the building. This reminiscence of peripteral temples should not surprise us in a town where Roman ruins and inscriptions abound, and where water is supplied by an aqueduct built under the government of pro-consuls (Fig. 100).

The Exchange, at Lerida, and the ancient palace of the Dukes of Granada (Fig. 205), now used as a prison, at Estella, are the only civil buildings of any interest.

As in the preceding period, Spanish architecture was polychromatic. Traces of colour are, however, rare; exposure to the weather has been

(Fig. 202), and the *Colegiata* of Toro, built at about the same period, make no new contributions to the history of architecture.

This is by no means the case of the Romanesque churches of Segovia: San Martin (Fig. 203), San Esteban (Fig. 204), San Millan, San Juan de los Caballeros, and San Lorenzo (twelfth century). The plan of these is not of much interest, as it closely resembles that of Saint Martin du Canigou, and the *Mudejar* accents are explicable enough; but the galleries which run along the church constitute an arrangement very unusual out of Spain. They have been noted more especially at San Salvador de



FIG. 206.—TARRAGONA. ARCH-  
BISHOP'S TOWER.  
(Author's Phot.)

## ROMANESQUE PERIOD

fatal to them. Among surviving examples, we may note San Baudelio, the decorative paintings of which will be described presently, and, in Roussillon, Saint Martin de Fenouillar and Saint Martin du Canigou (*sup. pp. 116, 78*), which show scattered roses, and white and violet or white and red checkers, like those of San Baudelio, also the capitals of the cloister of Elne (Fig.

153), and of the chapel of the castle of Perpignan. As examples of natural polychromy, I may mention the minaret belfry of Elne (Fig. 143), with its frames of black or red marble, and the collegiate church of Espirade l'Agly (Roussillon) with its facings of black and white marble, imitated, perhaps, from the Musulman architecture of Spain (Figs. 56, 171), Egypt, and Syria.

When, after the reconquest of Segovia, Alfonso VI. built a castle in which he could brave the attacks of the Musulmans, he copied the Alcazar of Toledo. Thus, from the beginning, the Spaniards must have been the disciples of the Oriental invaders. The numerous fortresses which date from the Romanesque period confirm this valuable information. Astorga, Avila (Figs. 207, 208, 211), Leon, Zamora, and Lugo, in the West, Turegano (a fortified church) in the centre, and Tarragona (Fig. 206) in the East, are among the towns where, in spite of ancient restorations, we may still study the Spanish fortification of this period.

In general, the *enceinte* consists of a thick wall, flanked by semi-circular towers, projecting considerably from the curtain, set very near each



FIG. 207.—AVILA. FORTIFICATIONS.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 208.—AVILA. FORTIFIED CHEVET OF THE CATHEDRAL.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 200.—ALCALÁ DE HENARES.  
TOWER OF THE ALCAZAR.

(Author's Phot.)

other, and solid as high up as the covered way (Fig. 207). The semi-circular plan, though usual, is not invariable. Indeed the beautiful tower of the Archbishop's Palace at Tarragona (Fig. 206), the tower of the Alcazar d'Alcalá de Henares (Fig. 209), the tower in which is the entrance of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra, founded in 1194, the ancient towers of the Castle of La Mota (*inf. p. 145*, Fig. 287) are all square. But whether round, square, or polygonal, the massive strength given them by the Spanish engineers is characteristic.

The flanking obtained by the help of the towers is often completed by a talus, from which heavy projectiles ricocheted, by machicolations (Fig. 208), and by brattices, constructed and covered with

slabs of stone in the Oriental fashion (Aleppo, Fig. 212). These elements, notably the brattices, exist in the so-called Bishop's Tower at Tarragona (Fig. 206), the donjon of the Monastery of Piedra, the Puerta del Sol, restored after the taking of Toledo (Fig. 210), the old Tower of the Alcazar d'Alcalá de Henares, (Fig. 209), the door of San Pablo at Barcelona (*sup. pp. 74, 75*), the chevet of the Cathedral of Avila (Fig. 208). In this same town, the approaches to the doors of San Vicente (Fig. 211) and to the Mercado Grande are defended by crenellated arches connecting the towers which flank the entrance. Too lofty to be demolished by the artillery of besiegers, and completed upon occasion by adjustable wooden platforms (*hours*), they were auxiliary works of the first importance.



FIG. 210.—TOLEDO. PUERTA DEL SOL.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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From this survey it appears that the Spaniards, at least from the time of Alonso VI. (1073–1108), placed the main strength of their fortresses in curtains flanked by a multiplicity of massive towers, and in a double line of circumvallation. They were further skilled in suppressing or attenuating dead angles, and sectors deprived of projectiles, by means of the talus and stone brattices. In this they were greatly superior to the engineers of other Christian nations, who, at this period, were content with towers a considerable distance apart, and projecting so slightly from the curtain as to have little flanking value. It was not in France, therefore, that the Spaniards had gone to school. They were the pupils of that system, at once robust and subtle, which the Persians had brought to such a high degree of perfection, and whose tradition is manifested in Parthian and Sassanian fortresses (*sup. pp. 18, 19*) and in the Syrian fortresses of the first centuries after the Hegira, such as the *enceinte* of Bagdad, the ramparts of Ani (eleventh century), the citadel of Aleppo (Fig. 212), the Bab-el-Nasr and Bab-el-Futuh gates at Cairo (1060).

The history of Romanesque sculpture in Spain is written on the same buildings as that of Romanesque architecture.

In the *antecamara* which was added to the Camara Santa of Oviedo, in the reign of Alonso VI., the twelve Apostles who uphold the doubleaux in couples have the exaggerated length which characterises the statues of the west porch at Chartres and the so-called Clovis and Clotilde from Notre Dame de Corbeil.

The Cathedral of Santiago also owns numerous



FIG. 211.—AVILA. SAN VICENTE. GATE-WAY.  
(Exterior.) (Author's Phot.)



FIG. 212.—ALEppo. ENTRANCE OF THE CITADEL.

## ART IN SPAIN



FIG. 213.—DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.  
(San Isidoro de León.) (Author's Phot.)

eighteenth century. They did in fact belong to it, and were transferred to their present position. The bas-reliefs comprised in the original decoration are placed right and left of the entrance, on a level with the columns. The *Creation of Man*, *Abraham's Sacrifice*, and *David playing the Viol* are among the finest. There is also a *Sign of the Zodiac* like the *Signs of the Lion and the Ram* preserved in the Museum of Toulouse, together with numerous capitals from the cloister of Saint-Sernin. Toulousian sculptors, attracted by the fame of Santiago, which at this period rivalled that of Rome, had followed the pilgrims into the heart of Galicia.

The fine sculptures of San Isidoro of Leon (Figs. 196, 213) are also the work of Toulousians, for before the year 1147, the artists who had just finished the Cathedral of Santiago were employed in the workshops of the *Colegiata*.

The western door of San Vicente of Avila (Fig. 193), decorated with excellent figures, recalls that of Saint-Ladre at Avallon. The sculpture is in the Burgundian Cluniac style. Nevertheless, one cannot but recognise in the *Angelic Salutation* of the south porch (Fig. 215) the



FIG. 214.—ZAMORA. TOMB OF A TEMPLAR.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 215.—ANGELIC SALUTATION.  
(San Vicente, Avila.)  
(Author's Phot.)

portico crowned by a fortified building, a Templar has just expired. His bed is placed against a wall on which are carved seraphim and two angels, who are bearing the materialised soul of the deceased to Paradise (Fig. 214). The artifice employed to give depth to the building, and the subject represented are common in devotional sculpture; the decorative motives of the columns, bases, and capitals, and the fantastic animals which struggle in the tympana are to be found in other monuments of the period, but there are none in which the decorative sculpture is rendered with so much delicacy or treated with more talent.

Lacking the instruction given by the monks of Cluny, sculpture in Catalonia had a more protracted childhood than in the north-west of Spain. The few decorative motives of the proto-Romanesque churches are barbarous, and are drawn rather than modelled (*sup. p.*

persistent *imprimatur* of the School of Toulouse, which held almost sovereign sway over north-western Spain from the beginning of the Romanesque period.

Like many of the churches which follow each other along the valley of the Lower Rhone, the Cathedral of Zamora, interesting by reason of its exceptional features, has various sculptural motives borrowed from Roman buildings. Such are the busts set in a kind of window, with laurelled archivolt, and the bas-reliefs of the tympanum surmounting these busts (Figs. 201, 216).

Two tombs in the Church of La Magdalena—an ancient church of the Templars—in this same town revert to the national tradition. Beneath a



FIG. 216.—ZAMORA. SCULPTURES  
OF THE PORCH.  
(Author's Phot.)

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79). This state of things continued to the middle of the twelfth century. At this period the sumptuous porch of the *Colegiata* of Santa María de Ripoll bears witness to marked progress (Fig. 150). If the attitudes of the persons have little variety, and if the technique is still imperfect, the composition reveals strenuous effort. The style and arrangement of the subjects show that the author had studied the Roman triumphal arches, and that he was, like the sculptors of the Cathedral of Zamora, an off-shoot of the Latin School.

After the year 1150 the schools of the East and the West met to the south of Pampeluna. At Estella, at least, we can recognise their fusion, either in the beautiful cloisters of San Juan de la Rua and of the *Colegiata* del Sar (Fig. 222), or in the façade of San Miguel (Fig. 217). The general arrangement of the sculptures recalls

the horizontal bands of Ripoll, but, on the other hand, the tympanum without a lintel, the curious heads which support it, the bas-reliefs on which the archivolts rest, suggest the entrances of the Romanesque churches of the West—Santo Tomé de Soria, Santiago di Compostela, San Vicente of Avila, San Isidoro of Leon—while the bas-reliefs, notably that on the right, which represents the *Three Maries at the Sepulchre* have analogies in their delicacy of execution and exceptional refinement of style with the naturalistic school of Toulouse, in such manifestations as the fragment of a capital in the Museum of this town, showing *Salome Dancing before*



FIG. 217.—ESTELLA. PORCH OF SAN MIGUEL.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 218.—SANTIAGO GLORIA (GOSPEL SIDE).

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 219.—SANTIAGO, GLORIA.  
PORCH OF THE BASILICA (EPISTLE SIDE).  
(Author's Phot.)

*Herod.* We recognise the hand of artists who have broken away from conventions, and are eager to study nature. The attitudes are varied, the faces expressive, there are differences in the arrangement of the hair. The figures show the influence of archaic themes only in the manner in which the lower parts of the body are accentuated, a manner proper rather to ivory-carving than to stone sculpture.

In 1168 the king, Don Fernando (1158–1188), granted Don Pedro Gudesteiz, Archbishop of Santiago, the privilege of constructing the narthex known as *La Gloria* in front of the Cathedral. Romanesque sculpture has produced nothing comparable to the statues which enrich

it (Figs. 218, 219). Mateo, the master-builder of the basilica, was its author. Grouped round the Saviour, who shows His wounds, are the Evangelists, the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse playing various instruments, the Apostles, Patriarchs, and Prophets. Some of the figures are placed on the columns of the embasures; the musicians are distributed in the curve of the arch, which forms a majestic archivolt over the central door (Fig. 219), and other figures or bas-reliefs are disposed upon the tympanum, or at the springing of the various arches of the vault. A representation of Purgatory and Hell completes the marvellous whole.

The Cathedral of Orense possesses a copy of the *Gloria* (Figs. 220, 221), known as the *Paraiso* (Paradise). Although it is not equal to the original, it makes a fine artistic effect.



FIG. 220.—ORENSE, PARAISSO.  
(EPISTLE SIDE).  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 221.—ORENSE. CATHEDRAL.  
PORCH OF THE PARAISO (GOSPEL SIDE).  
(Author's Phot.)

During the Romanesque period sculptors still hesitated to represent sacred persons in the round. Hence most of their figures are incorporated with the architecture, and entirely detached statues are very rare. Among them are an ivory Christ in the Leon Museum (Fig. 224), some small Christs of painted wood in long tunics belonging to the Museum of Vich, and the *Descents from the Cross* or *Misteri*s to be found in Catalonia. The most complete of these, the *Misteri* of San Juan de las Abadesas (Fig. 230), is a precious example of local polychrome sculpture in the thirteenth century. The general effect is barbaric, but this term cannot be applied to the head of the divine victim, which is remarkable for its purity of line and its expression of resignation and suffering.

As in France, the

Romanesque sculpture is, indeed, very nobly represented in Spain.

Among the more notable works, I must mention the *Christs in Glory*, because the manner in which this subject is treated at Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines (Fig. 187), at Sahagun (Fig. 225), and at Vigo show what great progress had been made in a hundred years. The Christ at Vigo, in particular, might be compared to the wonderful Christ on the tympanum of the north door of Cahors Cathedral. Two capitals in the palace of Estella must also be noted. On that of the lower order—left side—the artist has represented a skirmish of horsemen and men on foot which is full of fire and truth (Fig. 223).



FIG.—222.—SANTIAGO. CLOISTER OF THE  
COLEGIATA DEL SAR.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 223.—ESTELLA. CAPITAL IN THE PALACE OF THE DUKES OF GRANADA.

(Author's Phot.)

dral), which, according to tradition, belonged to Ferdinand III (1217–1252), and the *Virgin of the Treasure of Toledo Cathedral*.

The *Virgin of Ujue* is of wood with plates of silver. The *Virgin de la Vega*, perhaps a work of French origin, is of bronze and silver-gilt. The throne on which she is seated is ornamented with figures in *champlevé* enamel, which recall Limousin work of the late twelfth century.

All these statues were polychrome, in some cases heightened with gold, a description, indeed, that applies to all European sculpture of the twelfth century; yet very few examples have retained their colour. The severity of winter, the nature of the material, and the repeated washing they have undergone explain its disappearance. In the *Gloria* porch, for the first time, we find statues frankly painted. Are the tints with which they are clothed

graceful figure of the Virgin was apparently more in demand than that of Christ, or it may be that examples of the former have been more carefully preserved. The archaic *Virgins* (Figs. 227, 228) of *Ujue* and *La Vega* are the first links in the chain which ends in the *Virgin of Santa María la Real de Hirache*. Between these extremes we may place the so-called *Virgin del Claustro* of the pilgrimage of Solsona (Fig. 229) and three ivory Virgins: the *Opening Virgin* of the Clares of Allariz (Galicia), presented in 1192 by the queen Doña Violante, who took the veil in this convent, the *Virgin of Battles* (Seville Cathedral).



FIG. 224.—IVORY CHRIST

(Museum of Leon.)

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FIG. 225.—CHRIST IN GLORY.  
(Sahagun.) (Author's Phot.)

The first comprises panels—*antependia* or altar-pieces—preserved in the museums of Vich, Barcelona, and Lerida.

The episcopal museum at Vich owns thirteen (Figs. 231–235). One of these is to some extent both picture and bas-relief. The Christ it represents was modelled in a kind of chalky paste applied to the smooth surface of the panel and then painted. The Virgin in the Barcelona Museum, No. 3, is executed in the same manner. Ornaments continued to be treated in this way for a long time, but pictures in which relief and colour are combined in the figures are very rare.

Panel No. 9 in the Museum of Vich, one of the most ancient of the series, deals with the life of Saint Martin of Tours. In the centre, a seated Christ in Glory is relieved against a yellow ground enclosed within the red outline of a

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reproductions of the primitive polychromy? It is to be feared that there were innovations in the seventeenth century, when the colours were restored. Be this as it may, the scale is subdued, and has none of the coarseness of that of the *Paraiso* of Orense (Fig. 220), which was restored more recently.

The dislike long felt for statuary, an outcome of the horror of idols, resulted in a great development of decorative painting in sacred buildings.

The very curious proto-*Mudejar* churches found on the slopes of the Eastern Pyrenees (*sup. p. 75*) have furnished two groups of paintings which are to be classed among the ancient works of the Spanish schools.



FIG. 226.—CHRIST IN GLORY.  
DOOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF VIGO.  
(Author's Phot.)

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*vesica*. The drawing is heavy. The eyes have enormous pupils, and are connected by a straight line which goes from one temple to the other. The ears are flat, the type long and bony. The folds of the red robe are indicated in yellow; the green mantle has a yellow edge.

Panel No. 3 shows an obvious progress. The Virgin seated in a curule chair, the arms of which terminate in bulls' heads, clasps the Divine Child, and holds a lily in her right hand (Fig. 235).

The colour-scale of these early paintings is poorer, or perhaps merely more faded, than that of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* dated 1047 and signed *Facundus* (Figs. 157-160), but the technique is the same, and the border of the *Saint Martin* shows striking analogies of style and form with that of the lintel of *Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines* (Fig. 187). We must, therefore, assign them to the first half of the eleventh century.

Panel No. 5, called *Santa Margarita*, is later by a few years.

The lateral pictures manifest further progress in composition and rendering. On two of these the painter has represented the saint completely naked. Although Adam and Eve were depicted nude in the *Bible of Charles the Bald*, and in the *Commentary of Beatus* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 160), the innovation was a daring one; success crowned the audacity of the artist. A *Saint Peter* and a *Saint Paul* on a yellow ground, sprinkled with red stars, are distinguished from the other paintings by almost life-size dimensions.

On the whole, the painted panels of the Barcelona Museum seem to be later than those at Vich.

Saint Saturni of Tavernoles has furnished a relic which is perhaps unique. This is



FIG. 227.—VIRGIN OF LA VEGA.  
(San Esteban, Salamanca.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 228.—VIRGIN OF THE SHRIE OF UJUE.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 229.—VIRGIN OF THE  
SHRINE OF SOLSONA.  
(Upper Catalonia.)  
(Phot. Studio.)

the sloping roof of a ciborium (*Tegumen et umbraculum altaris*), still retaining its timbers and the chevrons for fixing it against the wall. On the ceiling, a Christ in Glory is represented in a circular *vesica*, with four angels in the corners. Panel No. 6, devoted to Saint Benedict the Abbot and eight of his companions, comes from the same church.

Panel No. 8 is the best of the series. The Virgin, presenting the Child to the worshipping Magi, is relieved against a white background enclosed in a trilobate arch. The carnations are brown. The dark blue mantle is sprinkled with little clusters of pink and white beads like the mantle of the Virgin No. 3 in the Vich Museum. One of the lateral pictures depicting the Visitation is exquisite in grace and sentiment. This precious panel is dated indirectly.

A crack between two boards has laid bare the parchment on which the painter worked. Now this parchment shows Gothic characters of the twelfth century. The style might have led us to suppose the panel earlier; artistic evolution, hampered by the re-conquest, was much slower in Spain than in France and Italy (*sup. p. 78*).

These early paintings are deeply interesting as an expression of national genius. Their originality is strongly marked, although in some of them we note an imitation of enamelled *antependia* like those of Silos and San Miguel in Excel-sis, or of *antependia* of gilt *repoussé* metal.

The second group of paintings consists of mural frescoes executed in apses. The walls of the naves were also painted, but all that remains are faint



FIG. 230.—DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.  
(San Juan de las Abadesas.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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traces of scenes from the *Apocalypse*. The principal theme is Christ in Glory: *Ego sum lux mundi* (Fig. 237). He adorns the cupola, while saints, Apostles, and the Virgin (Fig. 238), sometimes with a curious head-dress (Fig. 236), occupy the cylindrical part. The decoration of the apse of Sant Clement de Tahull (Fig. 237), protected by a Gothic altar, is in a wonderful state of preservation. The Christ is not seated upon the imperial throne of Byzantine mosaics, but upon a rainbow which traverses the *vesica*. I may also point out, as a peculiarity, that the symbols of the Evangelists are added to their figures; the seraphim, exquisitely graceful conceptions, have six wings, as in the Codex No. xxvi. at Ripoll. When the church is dedicated to Santa Maria, the Virgin Mother takes the place of Christ, and a dark, star-spangled sky constitutes the background. At Pedret, on the apsidal chapel of the Epistle side (now the sacristy), the artist has represented the five wise virgins seated at the mystical banquet, and the five foolish virgins standing. In other churches of the district certain ornaments, and at Santa Maria of Tahull a camel, were obviously copied from Oriental ivories or proto-*Mudejar* manuscripts. These are distinctive traits to which it is important to call attention.



FIG. 232.—CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.  
(Museum of Vich.)  
(Anuari. Institut. d'Estudis catalans.)



FIG. 231.—THE GIFT OF THE HOLY GHOST.  
(Museum of Vich.)  
(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis catalans.)

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influences. For the same reason, there can be no question of any direct relation with the Lower Empire (*sup.* p. 90). But everything agrees to show that the Byzantine note was borrowed from Evangelaries or Bibles executed from the ninth to the tenth centuries in the Rhine Provinces such as the Evangelaries of *Saint Médard of Soissons*, and of *the Emperor Lothaire*, or the Bible of *Charles the Bald* (B. N. of Paris, m. l. 8850, 266 and 1). These manuscripts were no doubt introduced during the period when the provinces north and south of the Eastern Pyrenees were under the same sovereigns. In this case, while France was receiving new architectural forms from Spanish Catalonia (*sup.* pp. 97, 98) she associated her neighbour in the progress which Burgundy and the banks of the Rhine had accomplished in the art of painting under the influence of Byzantium and Ireland.

The admirably preserved frescoes which decorate the vaults of the Pantheon of Leon (Fig. 198), belong to a more recent period than the Catalan paintings. They represent God the Father in the pointed *vesica*, the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the *Apostles*, the *Angels*, the *Signs of the Zodiac*, the *Months of the Year* with inscriptions below. As in Catalonia, the simple colours used by the decorators are reddish-brown, yellow ochre, indigo, and white. Green and red are obtained by



FIG. 234.—MARTYRDOM OF SAINT MARGARET.  
ALTAR-PIECE OF SANTA MARGARITA.

(Museum of Vich.)

(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis catalans.)



FIG. 233.—VIRGIN. ALTAR-PIECE  
OF SANTA MARGARITA.

(Museum of Vich.)

(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis  
catalans.)

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FIG. 235—VIRGIN.  
(Museum of Vich.)  
(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis catalans.)

mixtures. This very simple scale was usual in France at the same time as in Spain, where it was long applied to the colouring of statues. Its popularity was due to the harmony and solidity of the colours (*inf. p. 228*). At Leon, Vich, and Barcelona, the figures are relieved against a yellowish-white ground. This is also the case in the Baptistry at Poitiers and at Saint Savin (Vienne). This is a fresh proof of the general affinities existing between Catalonia, the Asturias, and France during the pre-Romanesque and Romanesque periods. If, setting aside the colour, we consider only the design, the frescoes of San Isidoro also show analogies with the miniatures of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Figs. 157–164). There is the same disproportion in certain figures, the same stiffness in the draperies, the same grandeur of composition, the same decorative sense.

The frescoes of San Baudelio (*sup. p. 68*) are very much more complex. Generally speaking, the lower register is occupied by hunting scenes, apparently copied from a Persian manuscript (Figs. 137, 138), while the upper register and the apse are decorated with religious subjects which show no trace of Oriental influences (Fig. 136). Both are painted in tempera on a coating of plaster, and all but the frescoes of the vault have preserved their vivacity of tone. The hunt is proceeding in a wooded region enclosed above by a flat band on which is inscribed a magnificent Cufic inscription in praise of Allah, and below by a frieze with a floriated spiral pattern. The religious subjects are taken from



FIG. 236.—VIRGIN. (Detail of Fig. 237.)  
(Sant Climent, Tahull.)  
(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis catalans.)

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FIG. 237.—EGO SUM LUX MUNDI.  
(Sant Climent, Tahull.)  
(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis catalans.)

find this tradition confirmed when we compare them with paintings in the old Catalan churches, Santa Maria of Tahull, Santa Maria of Bohi, Santa Maria of Esterri (*sup. p. 119*), and with the illuminations in the *Bible of Avila* and the *Bible of Noailles* (Figs. 240–241). The first of these manuscripts contains miniatures in which we find the same symbolical elements, the same manner of grouping the figures and of rendering expression and movement as in the frescoes of San Baudelio; the second has identical decorative motives. A mixture of styles so diverse is not surprising in Spain. The frescoes of Celon contain persons in Musulman costume, those of Santo Cristo (*sup. p. 85*) saints relieved against backgrounds of stilted arches, analogous to those of the Puerta del Sol. Both are characteristic of that composite civilisation

the life of Christ: the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Healing of the Blind Man*, the *Resurrection of Lazarus*, *The Marriage in Cana*, *The Last Supper*, etc. The decoration shows the same mingling of Eastern and Western motives. As art, these paintings are superior to those of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* and the frescoes of Leon. They are said to date from the twelfth century, and to have been executed a few years after the completion of the church. We



FIG. 238.—THE VIRGIN AND  
ST. JOHN.  
(San Miguel de la Seo de Urgel.)  
(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis catalans.)

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FIG. 239.—MUSICIANS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

(Saint-Martin du Fenouillar, Pyr.-Orient.)

(Anuari. Institut d'Estudis catalans.)

the second phase of which has received the names, now universally accepted, of *Mozarab* (*Mosta'rib* = *Arabised*) when it was developed in a Musulman country, and *Mudejar* (*Mudeddjan* = *authorised to remain*) when it flourished in Christian territory. We have seen (p. 64), the considerable and unsuspected influence it had on the elaboration of the Romanesque arts. After this, it hardly passed beyond the limits of the Pyrenees.

In the manuscripts of the end of the eleventh century, the Visigothic letter made way for the French Gothic letter, and the initials, in which the illuminator indulged to excess in the use of a brilliant yellow, were governed by a tradition derived from the Anglo-Saxon style. The transformation was a result of the arrival of the Cluny monks and the influence of the French bishops. Yellow and vermillion continued to predominate in the polychromy, but design made progress. Among the finest of the manuscripts are the *Bible* from Avila, in the National Library at Madrid, the *Bible* of the Archaeological Museum at Madrid, the *Bible of Dalmacio de Mur* in the Cathedral of Gerona, and the *Psalterio y Libro del Paralipomenon* of the church of Ausona (Vich) dating from the twelfth century.

The Catalan manuscripts seem to have characteristics which distinguish them from those of Castille. Thus, the *Bible of Noailles* (B.N. Paris, Lat. 6) from San Pedro de Rosas (Catalonia)

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shows strongly marked modifications not only in the writing, but in the artistic form. The illustrations of vol. iii., executed in line are remarkable for the purity and correctness of their drawing, and the science and variety of their composition (Figs. 240-241). Lions, camels, winged beasts, and war-elephants carrying towers with their defenders intermingle with the figures. The architecture shows interlacing horse-shoe arches on columns (Fig. 241) like those to be found at Merida, and later (towards 1220), in the *Mudejar* portion of the cloister of San Juan de Duero. This is a proof of the antiquity of interlacing arches in the Musulman style in Catalonia, and of the persistence of the *Mudejar* style of the Caliphate in the Christian kingdoms of Spain.

The copy of the *Morals of Saint Gregory* (Saragossa Cathedral) is also a *Mudejar* work. Thus, in the page where the miniaturist has represented the author, he shows him seated under a portico



FIG. 240.—THE TRIUMPH OF  
ESTHER.  
BIBLE DE NOAILLES.  
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

with horse-shoe arches, and near a tall mast resting on two couchant red lions, as oriental in style as the arches of the portico.

In addition to the *Virgin of La Vega* (Fig. 227) there are various examples in Spain of enamelled goldsmith's work of the twelfth century. Some of these are of incomparable beauty; the altar-frontal of Santo Domingo of Silos (Fig. 243) now

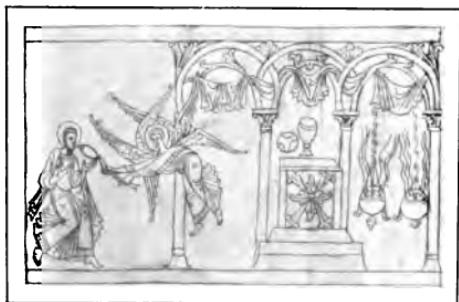


FIG. 241.—ISAIAH'S LIPS TOUCHED WITH  
LIVE COAL.  
BIBLE DE NOAILLES.  
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

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in the Museum of Burgos, the reredos still in the monastery and the altar-frontal of San Miguel in Excelsis, the reliquary of Huesca, and the binding of an Evangelinary at Roncevaux (Fig. 242). These enamels are *cloisonnés à la taille d'epargne* and have all the characteristics of Limousin work. Sometimes uncut gems, delicately set, enhance the richness of the decoration, as in the Silos altar-frontal and in an exquisite casket in the treasure of Astorga Cathedral (Fig. 244).

Between the period marked by the completion of the mosques and palaces of the Ommiade emirs of Cordova and that of the construction by the Almohades of the great mosque and the palaces of Seville (end of the twelfth century) the Musulman monarchs of Toledo built the Aljaferia (Figs. 172-173), but the remaining Moslem princes had reigns too stormy to permit of great undertakings. The works they carried out had a military character. They were castles analogous to the fortresses of Alcala de los Panaderos (Fig. 245) and Almeria (a port in the south-east). They also restored the circumvallation of Seville, Cordova and Jaen, and in general the towns threatened by their rivals or the Christians. These fortresses are of the usual Persian or Syrian type. The towers of towns and castles are preferably square or polygonal—*enceinte* of Seville, lower fortress of the Bridge of San Martin at Toledo



FIG. 242.—BINDING OF AN EVANGELINARY.

(Collegiate Church of Roncevaux.)

(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)



FIG. 243.—ALTAR-FRONTAL AT SILOS.

(Provincial Museum, Burgos.)

(Phot. Lévy.)

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FIG. 244.—ENAMELLED CASKET ORNAMENTED WITH  
UNCUT STONES.  
(Cathedral of Astorga.)

Besides the stuffs, the date and origin of which are practically certain, there are others which have hitherto been classed either as Byzantine or Siculo-Arabian on the evidence of their decoration. I have said above (p. 24) how misleading these indications may be. Thus, when in doubt, it is necessary to recall those materials showing the distinctive characteristics of Hispano-Musulman decoration, which, it must be admitted, is in many respects easily confounded with Siculo-Arabian decoration (*sup.* pp. 42, 43). The majority of the specimens are in the special Museums of Lyons, Berlin, and London. Sens Cathedral also owns some very fine examples worthy to be compared with those of the Museums of Cluny and Vich, and of the basilica of Saint-Sernin (Figs. 185, 186). Among them are the shrouds of Saint Siviard, Saint Colomba and Saint Potentianus, respectively adorned with winged dragons, confronted monsters, fantastic animals, and birds, enframed in pseudo-Cufic inscriptions.

—but there are also some round towers, of the Asiatic type adopted by the Spaniards.

As it has been possible to assign definite chronological limits to certain ancient woven materials of an Oriental style, I have devoted some attention to them, among other manifestations of the Musulman minor arts under the Omniaades (*sup.* p. 88 and Figs. 185, 186).



FIG. 245.—ALCALA DE LOS PANADEROS  
(ANDALUSIA).  
(Phot. Levy.)

## ROMANESQUE PERIOD

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FIG. 246.—SEVILLE. CATHEDRAL.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## CHAPTER V

### GOTHIC PERIOD

*Cistercian Monasteries.—Religious Architecture.—Civil Architecture.—Military Architecture.—Bridges.—Mudejar Architecture, civil and religious.—Sculpture: French, Flemish, and Italian Influences.—Painting: Catalan, Valencian, Castilian, Navarrese and Andalusian Schools.—Manuscripts.—Minor Arts: Woodwork; Goldsmith's Work; Woven Materials; Seals and Coins.—Mudejar Minor Arts: Faience; Woodwork; Metal Plaques.—Musulman Architecture, Painting and Minor Arts.*

THREE aisles, an apse, and square chapels bordering the transepts are the typical features assigned by Villard de Honnecourt to the austere churches of the Benedictines reformed by Saint Bernard. The order which had been established at Citeaux about 1098 soon began to colonise. It had just founded the Abbey of Fontfroide, near Narbonne, when it was summoned to Catalonia by Berengarius, IV. (1113–1131). A few years later, Alfonso VII. (1126–1157), opened the gates of Castille to it, and Garcia Ramirez IV. (1134–1150) introduced it into Navarre.

Although the reformed Benedictines penetrated into Spain by way of Catalonia, their earliest colony was in Castille, at Moreruela

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de Frades, between Zamora and Benavente. The plan of their churches was still Cluniac, but a new influence is revealed by the severity of the style.

The same description applies to the Cathedral of Tarragona. There is a papal bull of 1131 inviting contributions to the expenses of building it. Nevertheless, as it closely resembles the Cathedral of Lerida, begun in 1203 and finished in 1278, it is not to be supposed that the work was begun before the middle of the twelfth century. The very large building—90 m. by 38—is of the Catalan three-aisled type, inaugurated in the regions which were the first to throw off the Musulman yoke (*sup.* pp. 77, 78). The massive dimensions of piers and arches which spring from groups of coupled columns, recall the Angoumois architecture introduced at Zamora and Salamanca (*sup.* pp. 104, 105; Fig. 202). In the interior, the pointed arch has replaced the semi-circular form, and the ribbed vault has been substituted for the Romanesque cylindric vault. On the exterior, the semi-circular arch persists in the lateral doorways (Fig. 247), but the porch of the nave, built about 1275, is pointed (Fig. 321). An octagonal cupola on squinches rises over the crossing. The cloisters (Fig. 248) are copied, almost exactly, from the cloisters of Fontfroide. Like these, they are formed by arches and supports of the Romanesque style, contained within the pointed formerets of a Gothic vault.



FIG. 247.—TARRAGONA. LATERAL DOOR OF THE CATHEDRAL.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 248.—TARRAGONA. CLOISTER OF THE CATHEDRAL.  
(Author's Phot.).

## ART IN SPAIN

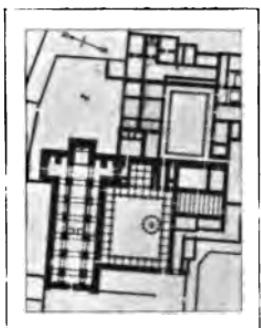


FIG. 249.—SANTAS CREUS.  
MONASTERY AND PALACE.

They are crowned by a cornice of cusped arches of an Oriental type (Figs. 28, 35, 84, 85). These arches recur round the apse, but here they form a defensive machicolation interrupted by brattices.

The churches of the monasteries of Poblet (fifty-four kilometres from Tarragona) and of Veruela (Aragon), which were made over to the Cistercians towards 1153 and 1171 respectively, resemble the Cathedral of Tarragona, inasmuch as the severity of the ornament alone reveals the presence of the Benedictine reformers.

On the other hand, the Monastery of Santas Creus (twenty-eight kilometres from Tarragona), founded in 1152, and with a church which was begun in 1177, is a perfect example of the Cistercian style (Fig. 249). The Cistercian T formed by the three aisles and the transept is very apparent. The square apse alone makes a slight external projection. It is flanked right and left by two square apsidal chapels, set in either arm of the transept. Massive piers, crowned by a simple moulding, support the groined vault of the nave and those of the side-aisles. On the outside, were it not for the doorway, the immense pointed window above it, and the lantern over the crossing, the church would have the appearance of a Romanesque fortress (Fig. 250). A cloister formed of very simple pointed arcades adjoined the church. In 1191, the fine hall of the first storey, known as the dormitory of the young monks, was built. It is constructed with a series of pointed arches, springing very low, which carry the beams of the roof upon their tympana. On the ground floor there is a square chapter-house; the vault of this is composed of nine panels, the arcs doubleaux and diagonal arches of which converge upon sixteen supports: four in the centre, and twelve engaged in the lateral walls. This chapter-



FIG. 250.—SANTAS CREUS. CHURCH OF THE  
MONASTERY.  
(Author's Phot.)

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house, which communicates with the dormitory by a staircase, is lighted from a second cloister, begun in September, 1313, and finished January 12, 1341. On one side there is a covered fountain.

The convent of the Noble Ladies of las Huelgas (three kilometres from Burgos) was built in the reign of Alfonso VIII. of Castile (1188-1214). The church, later by sev-

eral years than that of Santas Creus, differs from this only in the form of the apse—which is pentagonal—and that of a few of the arches.

Although it belongs to the period of Cistercian churches, the Cathedral of Sigüenza escaped the direct influence of the order, perhaps on account of its situation. It rises majestically, its massive façade flanked by two immense square towers, crowned by battlements (Fig. 252). The nave, the side aisles, the apse, the transept, lighted from the south by the most beautiful rose-window in Spain, recall the Cathedrals of Tarragona and Lerida in their arrangement. The piers show a striking and very comprehensible likeness to those of Saint-Nazaire at Carcassonne.

Sigüenza brings us towards the West. If we advance still further in this direction we shall reach Sahagún (San Facundo), where there are two brick churches of the deepest archaeological interest. The earliest is dedicated to San Tirso (Fig. 253), the second to San Francisco. The pointed arches of the last two storeys of the belfry of San Francisco fix its period as the first quarter of the thirteenth century. But on



FIG. 251.—SANTAS CREUS. FOUNTAIN OF THE CLOISTER.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 252.—CATHEDRAL OF SIGÜENZA.  
(Author's Phot.)

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the other hand, a *Mudejar* note is struck here by the horse-shoe arcades on the outer walls of the transepts and the apse, and by those bands of saw-tooth ornament pointed out in the palaces of Fars (Figs. 18, 23, 25, 27.)

These buildings were the first in Castille in which those Oriental forms reappear which had been almost banished from the architecture of Spain in the regions which the Benedictines of Cluny and Citeaux had conquered for French art. Nevertheless, even before their construction, the slightly horse-shoe form of the archivolts in the Romanesque porches of the churches of Porreres (Catalonia) and Santa Eulalia of Merida (end of the twelfth century) indicated a return to Musulman themes (Fig. 254).

The last transition building to be noted is the Cathedral of Valencia. The door known as the *Puerta del Palau* (Fig. 255) is Romanesque, though it was begun after the taking of the town in 1238 by the King of Aragon, Jaime I., *El Conquistador* (1213-1276). I have already explained the causes of these prolonged survivals (pp. 78, 118).

In Burgos, Toledo, and Leon Spain possesses three purely Gothic Cathedrals, buildings comparable to the finest French Cathedrals of the same period. The marriage of Doña Blanca (Blanche of Castille) to Louis VIII. (1223-1226) had facilitated a renewal of relations between the two countries. The Cathedral of Burgos (Figs. 256-258) was

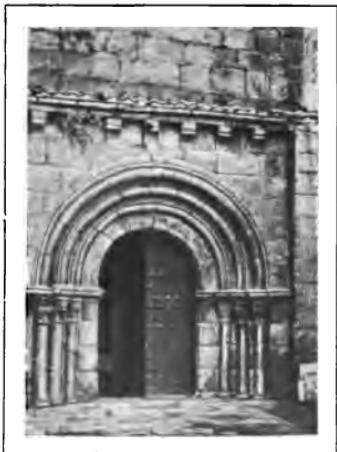


FIG. 254.—MERIDA. SANTA EULALIA.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 253.—SAHAGUN. SAN TIRSO.  
CHEVET AND BELFRY.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 255.—VALENCIA. CATHEDRAL.  
PUERTA DEL PALAU.

founded by Fernando III. (1217–1285) the nephew of Blanche of Castille, who laid the first stone on July 20, 1221. The transept, which projects considerably beyond the side-aisles, indicates the persistence of the Romanesque plan, or rather, a return to the traditional design which had been abandoned owing to the adoption of the five-aisled church. An apse prolonging the nave, an ambulatory continuing the side-aisles, and nine radiating chapels complete the fine whole, akin to the Cathedrals of Reims, Amiens and Chartres, and the Abbey Church of Longpont, built in France in

the first half of the thirteenth century. In the interior the analogies with Reims and Amiens are also strong. The bays are oblong; the piers have elegant slender columns at the corners, springing from the bases. On the other hand, the triforium of the transept is more like that of the Cathedral of Bourges. The only distinctively national feature is the octagonal dome above the crossing, the Spanish *crucero* (Fig. 258, cf. Fig. 269). Although it was finished in 1567 and was the work of Juan de Vallejo, a pupil of the celebrated Francisco de Colonia and Philippe of Burgundy (Felipe de Vigarny, *inf. p. 224, 225*), the squinches on which the drum rests, and the eight-pointed star which radiates on the intrados of the cupola, are of the purest Persian type (see Fig. 267). This part of the building is as it were the last legacy bequeathed by that *Mudejar* art which was the pride and glory of Spain. Burgos Cathedral is built on the flank of a hill. This led the architects to give two storeys to the magnificent cloisters between the chevet and the lower street of the Paloma. The upper storey is painted, but the colours are

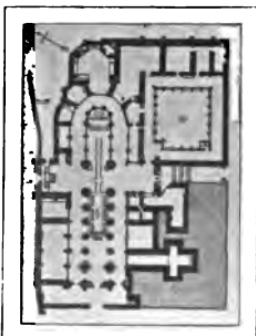


FIG. 256.—BURGOS. PLAN  
OF THE CATHEDRAL.

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FIG. 257.—BURGOS. CATHEDRAL.  
(Phot. Lévy.)

dimensions and the number of their aisles. The Cathedral of Toledo is longer and wider than Burgos; after the cathedrals of Milan and Seville, it is the largest Gothic church in Europe (120 metres by 54). It has five aisles and a double ambulatory, and in plan it resembles Notre Dame of Paris (founded 1163); in elevation it is more akin to the Cathedral of Burgos (founded in 1172). In the latter the master-builder diminished the height of the triforium in favour of the windows. Here the idea was followed out in all its severity, and the triforium was suppressed; but its disappearance entailed a general depression of the vaults and the consequent heaviness of the whole. On the other hand, the six-panelled vault of Notre-Dame, and of the Cathedral of Poitiers, is replaced by the oblong bay with intersecting diagonal arches to which architects in

faded, like colours which have been applied to stone. It is, nevertheless, a precious example of *Mudejar* polychromy. The brilliant reds and intense blues of the Andalusian palaces predominate; gold also played an important part in the scheme. The metal has disappeared, but its presence in the original decoration is attested by the yellow mixture which served to fix it.

Like the Cathedral of Burgos, the archiepiscopal church of Toledo (Figs. 259, 260) was founded by Fernando III. (August 11, 1227). The only distinctions between these two beautiful buildings lie in their

Burgos; after the cathedrals of Milan and Seville, it is the largest Gothic church in Europe (120 metres by 54). It has five aisles and a double ambulatory, and in



FIG. 258.—BURGOS. CATHEDRAL.  
NAVE AND CRUCERO.  
(Phot. Lévy.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD

France had reverted. The cloisters are distinguished by a door of a very complex style (Fig. 261), which will be noted when we examine the origin of the Portuguese Manuelian style (*inf.* pp. 316, 317). We know the names of the principal architects and sculptors who were employed in the Toledan workshops for two hundred and fifty years. At the head of the long list is a Frenchman, Petrus Petri (d. 1285, *inf.* p. 209), who superintended the works for fifty years, and gave them a unity often lacking in these immense structures.

Santa Maria de Regla, the Cathedral of Leon (Figs. 292-294), was founded in 1205, sixteen years before Burgos, but the workshops were closed for nearly a half century. The work, resumed in 1252, received a vigorous impulse under the reign of Sancho IV. (1284-1295), and was finished in 1303, a few years after the accession of Fernando IV. (1295-1312). Slender, delicately pierced, pure in form, and learned and harmonious in rhythm, the building

is an elegant solution of the audacious problem which the French masters had set themselves towards the end of the twelfth century, enframing in a light network of stone the painted glass which fills the windows of the nave and aisles and the openings of the triforium from the summit to the base of the building. This substitution of a transparent triforium for one with a gallery is found for the first time in the Cathedral of Amiens. The Ile-de-France and Champagne adopted it towards the middle of the thirteenth century. Spain soon followed their example.

But whereas architecture shone with peculiar lustre in Castille at

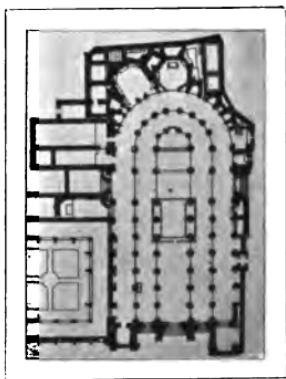


FIG. 259.—TOLEDO. PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL.



FIG. 260.—TOLEDO. CATHEDRAL TRANSEPT.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 261.—TOLEDO, CATHEDRAL CLOISTER.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Barcelona, was begun in 1298 and finished in 1329. The three aisles pass into a transept without side-aisles, an apse with an ambulatory and a string of eleven small, radiating chapels, an arrangement borrowed from Saint-Just of Narbonne, the choir of which

this period, in Galicia, the Asturias, Navarre, and Catalonia it seemed to be reposing after its exertions during the Romanesque period.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Catalonia and Navarre woke from their torpor, with the result that at Gerona, Saragossa, Barcelona, Perpignan, and Pampeluna, architecture passed without any sensible transition from expiring Romanesque to complicated Gothic. Affinities of race and proximity playing their part in the result, the South of France re-captured its preponderance in the artistic counsels of Catalonia.

Santa Eulalia, the Cathedral of Barcelona, was begun in 1298 and finished in 1329. The three aisles pass into a transept without side-aisles, an apse with an ambulatory and a string of eleven small, radiating chapels, an arrangement borrowed from Saint-Just of Narbonne, the choir of which—the only part completed—was built from about 1272 to 1330. The crypt, excavated in 1339 for the reception of the relics of Saint Eulalia, recalls the relic-shrines of the primitive churches. The arrangement was not a novel one. The chapels surmounted by a gallery which are set between the buttresses along the side-aisles form the most striking feature. Given the Gothic system of construction, in which the walls are mere partitions, we might suppose that architects would soon have conceived the idea of turning the free spaces between the buttresses to account in order to increase the



FIG. 262.—LEON, CATHEDRAL.  
(Author's Phot.)

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superficies of the church without expense. But this was not the case. Throughout the fourteenth century France continued to build churches with external buttresses, and although Notre-Dame of Paris, and the Cathedrals of Amiens and Tours have collateral chapels, it is because their walls were carried back to the line of the external face of the buttresses long after the construction of these buildings. The first examples of collateral chapels included in the original plan is perhaps to be found in the Cathedral of Cologne (thirteenth century). They were also a feature in the unexecuted plan of Saint-Just of Narbonne, as the similar and contemporary plans of the Cathedrals of Clermont and Limoges show.

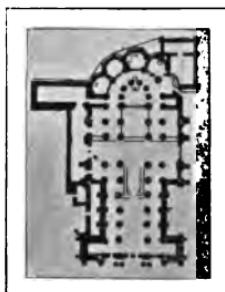


FIG. 263.—LEON.  
CATHEDRAL.

The Cathedral of Gerona, the boldest religious building of Catalonia, consists of a single aisle, 22 metres 60 cm. wide, of an apse, and of an ambulatory surrounded, as at

Barcelona, by eleven radiating chapels. It was begun in 1316 by Master Henri of Narbonne, and continued by one of his co-citizens, Jacques Favari (Jacopo de Favariis). The plan resembled that of Santa Eulalia of Barcelona, or rather that of the Cathedral of Narbonne, their common source of inspiration. But about 1410, when the external walls and the chapels between the buttresses were completed, Guillermo Boffi proposed to unite the two walls by a single vault 22 metres 60 cm. in span without any intermediate support. This dimension exceeded by 3 metres 50 cm. the width of the naves of Saint-Etienne at Toulouse and Sainte Cécile of Albi, which were considered remarkably daring. The Chapter was greatly exercised, and in 1416 appointed a technical commission of enquiry, which decided in favour of Boffi's plan.

Of all the kingdoms which were



FIG. 264.—LEON. CATHEDRAL.  
NAVE AND APSE.

(Phot. Garcia.)

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FIG. 265.—PAMPELUNA. CLOISTER OF THE CATHEDRAL.

(Author's Phot.)

France. It is therefore not surprising that artistic Navarre should have been ruled by the French schools, and should have propagated their teachings. In the domain of religious architecture the cloisters of the Cathedral of Pamplona (Fig. 295) occupy a distinguished place. The purity of the design and the delicate ornament of the arcades, the gables, and the capitals make it a unique work. Begun in the first years of the fourteenth century, in the reign of a French prince, Philippe d'Evreux, by a bishop of French extraction, Arnold de Barbazan, it was, no doubt, finished when in 1390 the Romanesque Cathedral collapsed. All the portion adjoining the church must have suffered severely from the shock, and this explains the interest taken by Carlos III. (1387-1425) in its reconstruction.

The Cathedrals of Saragossa and Seville, built on the sites of mosques demolished after the reconquest, are very different from the foregoing.

The Seo (Cathedral) of Saragossa, founded in 1119, is almost square, and is divided into five aisles separated by four rows of

afterwards united to form Spain, Navarre was the one in which French artists were most sought after. French architects came in with the Cluniac monks in 1050; *imagiers* followed architects. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Navarre passed to the royal house of France for thirty years, and for over a century after this it retained sovereigns either French by birth or brought up in



FIG. 266.—SARAGOSSA. SEO. LEFT AISLE.

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Gothic piers with yellow marble bases. It was consolidated in 1490. It is from this period that the capitals date. Among the foliage which decorates them angels and lambs in the Italian style frolic, and the innumerable ribs which rise from them and intersect at the summit beneath metal bosses are of the same period (Fig. 266). In 1498 the Musulman architect, El Rami,

added the porch known as the *Pavorderia*, now the main entrance to the church. The *Mudejar* character of the architecture is revealed in the interior, in the stellate dome over the crossing (Fig. 267), reproduced in Burgos Cathedral (Fig. 258), in the cupola of the Chapel of San Miguel, the golden stalactites of which seem to have been detached from a hall in the Alhambra, and externally on the north-west façade and on the dome, where a facing of non-lustrous bricks and faience gives an exquisite softness of tone. Blue, green, and white predominate, with here and there notes of deep yellow and reddish brown. The crescent taken from the rebus-device of

the Archbishop Lope Fernandez de Luna, at whose initiative the cupola of San Miguel was constructed about 1375, stands out in the centre of the geometrical interlacements. Indirect imitations, executed far from the place of origin, are necessarily less perfect than their models. But the faience facings of the Seo are not so far removed from these that we fail to recognise the style of the fine period which began in Persia at the dawn of the fourteenth century.

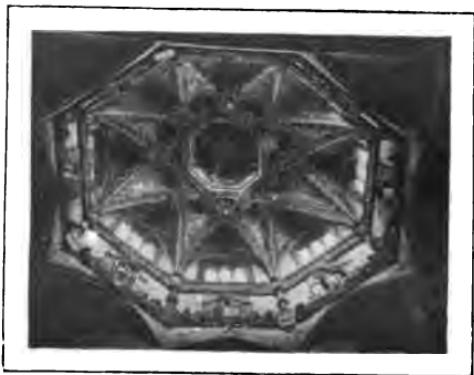


FIG. 267.—SARAGOSSA. SEO. CUPOLA OF THE  
CRUCERO.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

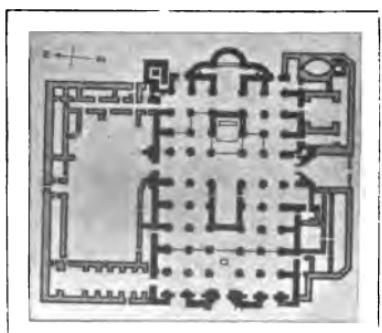


FIG. 268.—SEVILLE. CATHEDRAL.

(Comp. Fig. 80.)

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After the capture of Seville (1248) the great mosque begun in 1173 by Abu Yakub Yusuf was transformed into a Cathedral and dedicated to Santa Maria de la Sede. But in 1401, as its solidity seemed to be threatened, the Chapter decided to rebuild it. The architects took advantage of the foundations, preserved the minaret, the celebrated Giralda (Fig. 246), the court known as the *Patio de los Naranjos*, perhaps, too, the door *del Perdon*, transformed by Bartolomé Lopez (Fig. 385) in 1519, and finally adopted a plan (Fig. 268) closely akin to that of the Spanish mosques (Fig. 80). A forest of columns divides the space covered by the Cathedral into five aisles and ten bays. As to the apse, which is barely indicated on the exterior, and the two apsidal chapels submerged in the last bay, they are much more like the *maksura* and the *mihrab* whose places they occupy than the choir of a Christian Church.

The attachment of the Spaniards to their artistic traditions has never failed (*sup. pp. 78, 118, 132*).



FIG. 269.—TOLEDO. SAN JUAN DE LOS REYES. NAVE, APSE AND CRUCERO.

(Comp. Figs. 258, 267.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 270.—TOLEDO. SAN JUAN DE LOS REYES. CLOISTER.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

The churches described above adhere to the classic forms. There are a few examples of rarer types, interesting to study.

The Church of San

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Feliu at Jativa was rebuilt in 1414. It is reduced to a nave of 15 metres by 22½ metres, divided into five bays by pointed arches springing almost from the ground, and supported by buttresses with chapels set between them. On the exterior is one of those longitudinal porches peculiar to Spain (*sup.* p. 106). The distinguishing feature of San Feliu is the *alfarge*, or timber roof composed of rafters resting upon the *extrados* of the arches. The Romanesque Church of Mig Aran, in Upper Catalonia, Santa Maria de la Huerta, the Palatine Chapel of Santa Agueda (thirteenth century, now the Provincial Museum) at Barcelona, the Mourguier at Narbonne, are examples of this arrangement already noted at Santas Creus (*sup.* pp. 130, 131), an arrangement which made a prior appearance near Damascus, in the basilica of Tafka, and in the valley of the Orontes, at the basilica of Rueiha. These roofs may have been introduced into Europe by the Musulman architects. Their name as well as their form supports this hypothesis.



FIG. 272.—PALMA. CATHEDRAL.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 271.—SAN JUAN DE LOS REYES.  
PROTO-MANUELIAN DOOR.

(Author's Phot.)

The Cathedral of Palma (Majorca), begun in 1229, has another peculiarity. Its architecture shows it was originally crowned with terraces in imitation of Oriental buildings (Fig. 272). The present roof dates from 1380, the year when the church was restored.



FIG. 273.—CASTELLON DE AMPURIAS.  
CATALAN HOUSE (14TH CENTURY).  
(Phot. of the Catalan Institute.)

It had long been in existence when Don Pedro the Cruel halted there in 1352, during his pursuit of his brother Enrique.

The palace comprised in the monastery of Santas Creus (Figs. 249) has preserved a charming *patio* and staircase, showing the delicate little columns mentioned above (Fig. 274).

Of the *Casa Consistorial* (town hall) of Barcelona there remains a large pointed window, a door, the huge arch-stones of which are crowned by a curving archivolt of contrary flexure which is carried on to a wall at right angles to the doorway, the three shields of the tympanum, and an angel with bronze wings who seems to be blessing those who approach (Fig. 275). All these motives are exquisite in their purity and fancy. The works, begun in 1369, were finished in 1378.

The ancient *Palau de la Diputacio*

In civil buildings the architect introduced features very different from those he used in religious monuments. The most characteristic were doors with disproportionately large arch-stones (Figs. 273, 275, 281, 301, 413, 426, 427) and very slender shafts to the smaller columns (Figs. 273, 274, 275, 284). The former, borrowed from fortified castles, were in general use; the latter, inherited from the Moors, belong to the Catalan style.

The *Casa de los Baraganas* of Aviles (Castille) resembles the Palace of Estella (Fig. 205), save that the openings of the ground-floor have pointed arches.



FIG. 274.—SANTAS CREUS, STAIRCASE IN PALACE.  
(Author's Phot.)

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*general de Catalunya* (Palace of the Estates - General), built by March Cafont and decorated by Pere Johan, dates from the first half of the fifteenth century. In the later portions, we find the Gothic style complaisantly accepting the first manifestations of the Italian Renaissance. We must note the door opening on to the Calle del Obispo, constructed in 1416 (Fig. 277), the *patio* of two storeys, the external staircase in this same *patio* (Fig. 276), and two of the windows—one facing the *patio de los Naranjos*, the other opposite the outer door—because their interlacing arches afford a fresh example of proto-Manuelian forms.

With these buildings we must class the *Lonja* (Exchange) of Palma (Fig. 280), built in 1426 by Guillen Sagrera, and the *Lonja de la Seda* at Valencia (Fig. 279), the construction of which was decreed on February 5, 1482. They are in the Catalan style, whereas the Hospital de la Latina at Madrid (Fig. 281), now demolished, was a precious relic of Castilian Gothic art at the end of the fifteenth century. It was built by a Musulman architect, Maestre Hazan, Galindo, lady of the bed-chamber and Latin professor to Isabella the Catholic.

FIG. 275.—BARCELONA. CASA CONSISTORIAL  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 276.—BARCELONA. PALAU DE LA DIPUTACIO.  
STAIRCASE OF THE PATIO.  
(Author's Phot.)

Zamora, Toledo (Fig. 282) Avila (Fig. 283), Estella, Siguenza on the one hand, and on the other Gerona, Cardona, Castellon de Ampurias (Fig. 273) in Spain, Ibiza in the Balearic Isles (Fig. 284), and Perpignan in Roussillon also possess Gothic façades or portions of façades in a perfect

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state of preservation, but differing in character inasmuch as some are in the Castilian, others in the Catalan style. Very different in every respect is the famous kitchen of the Abbey church of Pampeluna, now incorporated with the Cathedral. It is an almost square hall, covered with an octagonal hood on squinches at the angles, formed of three truncated pyramids fitting into and rising one above the other, and tapering as they rise. Similar arrangements may be noted in France in the Benedictine Abbey of Fontevrault, Indre-et-Loire (twelfth century).

We are familiar with the decoration of interiors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, either through inventories or paintings. Floors of square bricks, laid uncut, were usual for ordinary rooms; in others, the geometrical combinations of the East were affected. Plinths were high and were often replaced by wainscots of wood or *azulejos*.<sup>1</sup> Ceilings had rafters and interjoists, sometimes combinations of crosses and stars (Fig. 299). When the walls were not coated with plaster or whitewashed, as was generally the case, they were masked by the carved stuccoes of Musulman architecture (Fig. 297), or by frescoes, tapestries, and Cordovan leather, the use of which became general in the fifteenth century. At the same period, damasks, silks, and velvets were used in rich houses, and the paved floors were covered here and there with carpets woven in Andalusia (Fig. 392), Persia, and Morocco.

There are two principal groups of fortified castles. The first defends a



FIG. 278.—BARCELONA. PROTO-MANUELIAN WINDOW.

(*Author's Phot.*)



FIG. 277.—PERE JOHAN. SAINT GEORGE. OVER THE OUTER DOOR OF THE DIPUTACIO.

<sup>1</sup> Porcelain plaques.

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FIG. 279.—VALENCIA. LONJA DE LA SEDA.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

interior quadrangular *enceinte*, flanked on three sides by massive square towers, which belonged to an earlier castle built about the middle of the thirteenth century. The fourth side, the donjon, the exterior circumvallation and its round towers, the moat hollowed out of the living rock which surrounds it, the fortified bridge, and the barbacan at its head date from the reign of Juan II., and were added by Fernando de Carreño about 1440. In 1479, Isabella enlarged the interior, and completed the defences. The masonry is of beaten earth faced with bricks. There is a wide road between the gate of the inner and the entrance of the outer *enceinte*, to facilitate the circulation of troops in a zone commanded by the donjon; but it is practically cut off elsewhere, so closely does the inner facing of the outer wall approach the square towers of the inner *enceinte*. The

vast triangle, the summits of which are at Simancas, Avila, and Segovia. Medina del Campo, where Isabella the Catholic died (Nov. 26, 1504), Madrigal, where the great queen was born (April 22, 1451), and Arevalo succeed each other on the Simancas-Avila side; Cuellar, Olmedo, of which it was said: *He who would hold Castile must have Arevalo and Olmedo*, and finally Coca (Fig. 285) and Turegano (Fig. 286) belong to the Simancas-Segovia side.

The Castle of Medina del Campo or La Mota (Figs. 287-289) dominates a slight eminence outside the modern town. In its present state, it consists of an



FIG. 280.—PALMA. LONJA.

(Phot. Watelin.)

## ART IN SPAIN



FIG. 281.—MADRID. HOSPITAL OF LA LATINA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Seville, Almodovar del Rio, Cordova, Villaviciosa, Vacar, Espiel, Belmez, Fuente Ovejuna, and Almorchon.

These works date from the Musulman occupation. The

Christians merely repaired or enlarged them. The most famous and the best preserved among them, the castle of Almodovar del Rio on the Guadalquivir, crowns a slate hill about 100 metres in height. It was looked upon as the bulwark of the Caliphate Court, and the type of the impregnable mediæval fortress. Neither in design, outline, nor arrangement of details, do we find any essential differences between the castle of Almodovar and the castle of La Mota, which is, however, more modern as a whole.

The fortresses enumerated above are polygonal, whereas the castle of Bellver, at Palma (Figs. 289–290), is circular, and flanked by



FIG. 282.—TOLEDO. PALACE OF PEDRO I (1350–1360).  
(Author's Phot.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD

round towers. This type, a rare one in Spain, though occurring frequently in Portugal, was usual in the East, to judge by the Assyrian bas-reliefs, the citadel of the Acropolis of Susa, and the palace of Hatra.

We may mention further, as evidences, the polygonal towers of Seville, Valencia, and Poblet (Aragon), imitated from the Eastern type of which we have an ancient example at Mshatta, and the citadel of Badajoz, the doors of which are arched in a strongly contracted horse-shoe form.

To sum up, a comparative study of the fortresses of Northern, Central, and Southern Spain, built during the Romanesque and Gothic periods, shows that both are derived from the programme set forth in dealing with the military architecture of Persia (pp. 19, 107-109). The conditions fulfilled by the Acropolis of Susa, the castles of Fars and Mesopotamia, and later, by the *karaks* of the Crusaders, constructed on Syrian models, are also realised in Spain, because the triumphant Oriental types had been brought thither by the invaders. This is also the secret of the striking uniformity of Spanish fortification, whether of Christian or of Musulman origin.

From the beginning of the Gothic period a few bridges were thrown over unfordable rivers. Many of these bridges have disappeared. Those which remain are bold, light, and often remarkable in construction.

The bridge of Céret (Pyrénées-Orientales) is composed of a semi-circular arch 32 metres in span, with open tympana (Fig. 291). It dates from the fourteenth century. Two large bridges with pointed arches are of the same period: one, at the



FIG. 283.—AVILA. DOOR WITH ARMORIAL BEARINGS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 284.—IBIZA. AJIMEZ WITH ARMORIAL BEARINGS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## ART IN SPAIN



FIG. 285.—CASTLE OF COCA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

formerly fortified, the piers and triangular spurs of which are surmounted by voids in the spandrels. At Elche the bridge over the Vipalapo at Caceres, the Almarez bridge, and at Gerona, the San Juan bridge, deserve mention. To conclude, the Alcantara and San Martin bridges at Toledo (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), the first with two, the second with five arches (Fig. 294), are so well known that it is useless to describe them.

Toledo, Soria, Siguenza, and Alcada de Henares fell into the hands of the Christians again in the last years of the eleventh century. As a result of these successes, the kings of Castille entered into possession of a vast province where the Musulmans and Mozarabs (Christian subjects of the former) had long combined against the Emirs of Cordova (*sup.* 123, 124). The toleration with which the Christians had been treated during this period redounded to the benefit of the vanquished, who were neither expelled nor molested. Throughout the province, says a contemporary writer, *al-jamas dadas a las artes de la paz* (associations devoted to the arts of peace) were formed, the



FIG. 286.—CASTLE OF TUREGANO.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD

members of which preserved the traditions inherited from Musulman masters and workmen.

The arts of the Caliphate, which had established themselves in Spain with the help of themes imported by the first conquerors, had there developed in an independent manner, in consequence of the rupture between the Ommiade monarchs of the Peninsula and the Abbaside princes who ruled over the rest of Islam.



FIG. 288.—CASTLE OF LA MOTA. LEFT FLANK.

(Author's Phot.)

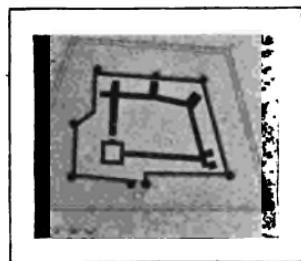


FIG. 287.—CASTLE OF LA MOTA.  
(Measured and drawn by  
the Author.)

But when the Almohade (in Arabic *el morabit* = the monkish custodian of the frontiers, 1090–1157) and Almohade (in Arabic *el muahhid* = unitarian, 1157–1212) conquests brought the Maugrabins on two occasions into Spain, they introduced motives which modified the architecture of the

Caliphate, and gave birth to a new style, the *Andalusian* style, to which Morocco subsequently became tributary.

The *Andalusian* style is perfectly distinct from the foregoing one. The arches pass from the horse-shoe struck from a single centre of ancient Persia to more complicated designs —horse-shoe arches and ogives struck from three or five centres, stilted semi-circular arches (*sup. p. 64*); the orders of the columns



FIG. 289.—PALMA. DONJON AND CIRCUM-VALLATION OF THE CASTLE OF BELLVER.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## ART IN SPAIN

show greater richness and originality. The increasing use of the honeycomb and of decorative panels, treated with a view to the repetition of a single motive, as they appear as early as the ninth century in the palaces of the Abbassids (Samarra, Mesopotamia), and open-work decoration are also features characteristic of the new architectonic themes (Figs. 306-311, 386-390).

Like the style of the Caliphate, the *Andalusian* style was propagated by means of the copies executed by Christian architects and decorators, and the collaboration of Musulman colleagues and workmen with these. After the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the king of Castille, Alfonso VIII., wrote to Pope Innocent III. : *quosdam captivos duximus ad servitium christianorum et monasterium quae sunt reparanda.* In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even in the sixteenth, Christians occasionally invoked the aid of Musulman masters when they undertook not only public buildings and palaces, but even religious structures, such as the Chapel of the Trinity, built for the Countess of Barcelos in 1354 by an architect of Saragossa called Mahomat de Bellico ; the Church of the Carthusians of Paular, constructed from 1433 to

1440 by Abd er Rahman of Segovia, the Chapel of La Latina and the porch of the Seo of Saragossa already mentioned (pp. 139, 143). Indeed, their Catholic Majesties, disturbed by these encroachments, made a special decree to prevent Musulmans and Jews from carving sacred statues and painting sacred pictures (*inf. p. 183*). In 1632



FIG. 290.—PALMA. COURT OF THE CASTLE OF BELLVER.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 291.—PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES. BRIDGE OF CÉRET.  
(Phot. Labouche Brothers.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD

the treatise on timber-roofing of Diego Lopez de Arenas, published at Seville under the title *Compendio del Arte de Carpinteria*, was a treatise on Oriental roofing. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Moorish families who had preserved the tradition of Oriental industries, and at Granada in 1725, manufacturers of silks

convicted of professing the Musulman religion, were burnt by sentence of the Inquisition. Down to the end of the eighteenth century Moslem traditions were still so firmly rooted in Spain that "*in the theatres the women were segregated in the Cazuela and shrouded in thick veils which enveloped them from the head to the feet*," says the author of the *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne* (Paris, 1789). Under such conditions it is not surprising that the fusion of Christian and Musulman art, prepared from the beginning of the conquest, should have been consolidated in the course of the following centuries.

As might be expected, *Mudejar* buildings are to be found for the most part at Toledo, and in the towns politically dependent upon Toledo during the Musulman domination (*sup. p. 148*), and also at Teruel (minaret-belfries of San Martin and del Salvador), Ateca, Calatayud, Daroca, Tauste, Saragossa, Segovia, Salamanca, and in the south, at Merida, Seville, Cordova and Granada.

In addition to numerous churches, Toledo possesses two *Mudejar* synagogues adapted to Catholic worship: Santa Maria la Blanca and San Benito, better known as



FIG. 292.—BRIDGE OF SAN JUAN DE LAS  
ABADESAS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 293.—BRIDGE OF ZAMORA.  
(Author's Phot.)

## ART IN SPAIN



FIG. 294.—TOLEDO. BRIDGE OF SAN MARTÍN.

tympana and friezes of carved stucco, the arcades of the blind triforium of the central nave, the timber roof and the pavement (Fig. 296). The *Transito*, which was finished in 1366, consists of a nave 21 metres long, 10 wide, and 12 high, covered by an *artesonado*, or ceiling with soffits, executed in larch-wood. Carved stuccoes, so delicate that they look like Venetian lace which has been hanging forgotten for centuries, cover the walls (Fig. 297). Above, there is a second storey of architecture formed by fifty-four arches remarkable for the perfection of their ornament. Some correspond to windows, others to the openings into the gynceum. The columns with their coupled capitals of coloured marble are crowned by cusped arches. The beaded archivolts of these pass, at the summit, round a delicate open-work medallion, and continue for the support of a deep band, on which is a Hebrew inscription in high relief, consisting of a few verses from the Psalms of David. Another inscription celebrates the reigning sovereign, Pedro I. (1350–1369), the architect of the synagogue, Don Meir Abdeli, and the donor, Samuel Levy. The cartouches surrounding the inscriptions are separated by the coat of arms of Castille and Leon, and by the lilyed shield of France, which recalls the nationality

the *Transito de Nuestra Señora*. Of the grace and elegance of Santa María we get no hint from the exterior. But no sooner do we pass the threshold than we are struck by the octagonal piers which divide the irregular quadrilateral of the plan into five aisles, and charmed by the exquisitely delicate ornament of the capitals, the



FIG. 295.—TOLEDO. MINARET-BELFRY OF SANTO TOMÉ.

## GOTHIC PERIOD

of Queen Blanche, the wife of Pedro I.

Civil *Mudejar* architecture is not represented at Toledo by monuments as complete as the two synagogues. There are, however, a few fragments of real interest belonging to buildings of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Such are the *Taller del Moro* and the saloon of the *Casa de Mesa*; more notable still are the *Mudejar* timber-roofs, which deserve special mention by virtue of their variety and their fine state of preservation. A first group consists of those roofs mentioned above (p. 75), composed of rafters close enough to receive without any intermediary a joined flooring on the principal joists,



FIG. 296.—TOLEDO. SANTA MARÍA LA BLANCA.  
(Phot. V. Gonzalez.)

joined flooring on the principal joists, resembling the ribs of a ship (Fig. 298). Again, the flooring of a storey may be the objective. In this case, beams and joists, or joists alone enter into its composition. Often, again, these have a filling, the projections of which form, in general, the classic combination of the cross and the eight-pointed star of the Persian style. I may cite as an example the sumptuous ceiling of the chapter-house of the Cathedral, built about 1510 by Pedro Gumiel and Enrique Egas, the celebrated architects of their Catholic Majesties (Fig. 299).

The *Mudejar* style even crept into the decoration of the



FIG. 297.—TOLEDO. TRANSITO. CARVED STUCCOES.  
(Author's Phot.)

## ART IN SPAIN

tombs of the alguazil Don Fernan Gudiel, who died in 1228, and of the Infante Don Perez, grandson of Fernando III. (1217-1252), respectively in the Cathedral and the Chapel of Las Comendadoras of Santiago.

Segovia, as well as Toledo, offers examples of this singular architecture. First the Church of Corpus Christi, which resembles Santa Maria la Blanca; then, the defensive towers of the Parador Grande and of the Marquis de Lozoya's palace, and a number of other palaces covered with very hard plaster, which the decorators ornamented with geometrical designs in relief (Figs. 300-302) analogous to those which are to be found on the bronze facings of the Door of the Lions at Toledo Cathedral (Fig. 384). One of these dwellings has even preserved an *ajimez* surrounded by those exquisite faïences the style, colour and processes of which the Musulmans had brought from Persia.

Saragossa was no less richly endowed than Segovia. In 1887 the Leaning Tower was pulled down (Fig. 303). It had been built in 1504 by five architects, two of them Christians, Gabriel Gombao and Juan de Sartiñena, one a Jew, Ince de Gali, and two Musulmans, Ezmel Ballabar (Ismail ibn el Abbar?) and Maestre Monferriz. But we may still see the minaret belfries of the

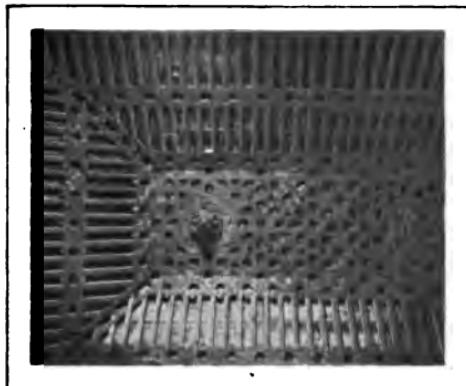


FIG. 298.—TOLEDO. SAN JUAN DE LA PENITENCIA. MUDEJAR TIMBER ROOF.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 299.—TOLEDO. CATHEDRAL. CHAPTER HOUSE.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD

Magdalena, of San Pablo, of San Miguel de los Navarros, of San Gil and of Santos Pedro y Juan.

The northern frontier of the *Mudejar* is studded with fortified castles, among which was the Castle del Barco, which the Duke of Alba had decorated "in the Moorish style" under the direction of Juan Rodriguez, according to the contract of 1476; here too is Salamanca, where in the old Cathedral is the chapel of Talavera, and the magnificent polychrome tomb of the singer Aparicio; there are also many buildings of secondary importance.

Bearing more to the east, we may study the ancient Alcazar and the Chapel of the Oidor at Alcalà de Henares. The Alcazar, built, it appears, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century by the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Sancho, son of Fernando III. (1217-1252), was altered for the first time by Cardinal Contreras in the reign of Juan I. (1379-1390).

Its most characteristic features are its coffered ceilings, of the kind known as *artesonado*, and the magnificent *Salon de los Concilios*, a vast and lofty nave crowned by a sumptuous polychrome timber roof, restored in the reign of Isabella II.

The Chapel of the Oidor takes its name from its founder, Don Pedro Diaz of Toledo, *oidor y referendario* of the king, Don Juan II. of Castille (1407-1454). The very delicate design of the decorations, in which the pointed arch is combined with subtle arabesques, is heightened by a soft scheme of colour where light blue predominates.

The palace of the Dukes de



FIG. 301.—SEGOVIA. PALACE OF THE MARQUIS DE LOZOYA.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 300.—SEGOVIA. DECORATED PLASTER.

(Author's Phot.)

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## ART IN SPAIN



FIG. 302.—SEGOVIA. AJIMEZ  
WITH PORCELAIN DECORATIONS.  
*Author's Phot.*

l'Infantado, at Guadalajara (Fig. 304), is also a *Mudejar* building, but at certain points it is related to the architecture of the Renaissance. San Miguel de Almazan in the same region, begun in 1220 and finished in the reign of Alfonso XII. (1253–1284), one of the princes who most efficaciously favoured the fusion of the Christian and Musulman civilisations, has a ribbed cupola like those of the church of Akhpat (Fig. 75), the mosque of Cordova, and Santo Cristo de la

Luz (sup. p. 84, 85). The ribs, however—and this is an important detail—form in their projection a stellate octagon in the Persian style, the points of which rest upon the summits of the squinches and of the great pointed arches.

At Cordova we must note the Villavicosa Chapel in the Cathedral (Fig. 306), and the numerous churches constructed in the reigns of Alonso XI. (1312–1359) and Don Pedro I. (1350–1369) : San Nicolas, San Pedro, San Lorenzo, Santa Marina, and San Miguel. From the right (Epistle) side-aisle of the last-named a square chapel projects, covered with a cupola on horse-shoe squinches. The same form of arch appears in the windows, the door of communication, and the divisions of the rose-windows, whereas the porch of the church is Romanesque.

The *Mudejar* churches of Seville differ from those of Cordova in their more modern character, the frequent suppression of the two apsidal chapels, and the presence of a minaret-belfry (Fig. 305), the general arrangement and decoration of which are imitated from the Giralda (Fig. 246).



FIG. 303.—SARAGOSSA.  
LEANING TOWER.

## GOTHIC PERIOD

At the end of the twelfth century a Toledan architect named Djalubi was summoned to Seville by the founder of the mosque, Abu Yakub Yusuf, of the dynasty of the Almohades, and commissioned to build the palace, which, after various alterations and additions, became the present Alcazar. The most important modifications were the work of Pedro I. (1350-1369), of Enrique III. (1390-1407), of Juan II. (1407-1454), of Isabella the Catholic (1474-1504), and of Charles V. (1505-1558), in preparation for his marriage with Doña Isabel of Portugal.

The plan of the Alcazar is very simple. It is developed round the colonnades of a rectangular court, the *Patio de las Doncellas* (Fig. 308), and consists of galleries, square chambers, and a little supplementary patio, the *Patio de las Muñecas* (*the Dolls*, Fig. 309), which facilitates the distribution.

Passing through the outer door, we enter the court of *La Monteria*, from which a long gallery leads to the court of honour. Then, to the left, we see the *Mudejar* façade, with its sumptuous doorway (Fig. 307). Under a very projecting pent-house, supported by joists delicately worked and adorned with lines of gold and colour, is a frieze of stalactites upheld by elegant small columns. In the interstices between them hospitable sentences are inscribed in Cufic characters: *May your wishes be granted*; and lower down on another frieze: *Happiness*,



FIG. 304.—GUADALAJARA. PATIO OF THE PALACE OF THE DUKES DE L'INFANTADO.

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 305.—SÉVILLE. SAN MARCOS.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

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FIG. 306.—CORDOVA. CATHEDRAL.  
VILLAVICIOSA CHAPEL.  
(Phot. Molina.)

rate, there are fine replicas of them at Fez (Porch of the Mosque of the Andalusians, A.D. 1207), at Marrakesh, Mekines, Tangiers, and Tetuan, in buildings constructed by Musulmans who came from Spain during the domination of the Almohades or after the taking of Seville. In the interior, the cusped arches, the marvellous lacework of the tympana, the *alicateados* (porcelain wainscots) in the *Patios de les Donalles* and *de las Muñecas* (Figs. 308, 309), were executed under the same conditions as the porch.

The triple arches of the famous hall of *Los Embajadores* (Fig. 310) are of the horse-shoe form, and have voussoirs alternately plain and ornamented, the style of which recalls the Mosque of Cordova. We have here a survival of forms and

*peace, glory, and perfect felicity* [be yours]. All the middle part and the base of the door were altered or re-fashioned by Pedro I. in 1364, as we learn from an inscription—in Gothic lettering this time—incised at a later date on the stone lintel which enframes the enamelled frieze.

The purity of the *Andalusian* style need not surprise us; the works were entrusted to Moorish architects and workmen sent out from Granada at the king's request by Yusuf I. Abd el Haddjad. As to the penthouse and the upper bands, they seem, save where they have been restored, to have formed part of the original building. At any



FIG. 307.—SEVILLE. ALCAZAR.  
INNER DOOR.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD



FIG. 308.—SEVILLE. ALCAZAR. PATIO DE LAS DONCELLAS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

*Mudejar* building, the *Casa de Pilatos* (Fig. 311), constructed in the sixteenth century for the Dukes of Alcalá, and long looked upon as a reconstruction of Pilate's house at Jerusalem. From the decorative point of view, it is a picturesque medley of Musulman, Gothic, and Plateresque motives. But it is interesting, more especially as a realisation of the dream of those nobles of an old Christian stock, who, in a country conquered by the Italian Renaissance, felt a retrospective tenderness for the Musulman arts.

During the Gothic period, as during that which preceded it, Spanish sculpture was closely bound up with religious architecture, and underwent, though after a very sensible interval, the persistent influence of the schools which flourished north of the Pyrenees. Thus the capitals of the Cathedral of Tarragona are still in the Romanesque style (Fig. 312). On the other hand, the central door of the Cathedral of Leon is surrounded by very interesting statues (Fig. 314) and has in the tympana a bas-relief, *The Last Judgment*, certain figures in which,

decorations analogous to that already noted in the Christian kingdoms (p. 124). The rest of the hall is *Mudejar*, including the cedar dome, which bears under the central rose the following inscription in Gothic characters: *The master of works of the king (Juan II.), D. Diego Ruiz, made me.* The building was completed in 1427.

Seville possesses yet another celebrated



FIG. 309.—SEVILLE. ALCAZAR.  
PATIO DE LAS MUÑECAS.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

notably those of the elect (Fig. 315), have the grace of the best French works of the Gothic period. Yet, though their authors were haunted by memories of the sculptures of the Cathedrals of Chartres and of Bourges, the costumes and types show ethnical characteristics which suggest that the artists were Spaniards taught by French masters, or Frenchmen long settled in Spain. The same may be said of an excellent statue detached from a princely tomb, and remarkable for its firmness of execution, and the simplification of the modelling to harmonise with the dour virility of the Castilian type (Fig. 313). It is also valuable on account of the preservation of the colour, which is intact save for the fading incidental to old paintings on stone.

Two other memorials in the cathedral claim our attention. One, set against the *Capilla Mayor*, is the tomb of Ordoño II. (913-923), executed in the fifteenth century (Fig. 317); the other, in the Chapel of the Concepcion, contains the body of Bishop Manrique de Lara, founder of the Cathedral. It is decorated with a bas-relief, in which the sculptor has commemorated a distribution of provisions made by the bishop during a terrible famine (Fig. 316).

The sculptures at Burgos Cathedral—notably those of the *Sarmental* and *Coronaria* doors, at the extremities of the transepts—are contemporary with those of the Cathedral of Leon and



FIG. 310.—SEVILLE. ALCAZAR. SALON DE LOS EMBAJADORES.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 311.—SEVILLE. CASA DE PILATOS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD



FIG. 312.—THE MAGI. DOOR OF CLOISTER OF TARRAGONA CATHEDRAL.

(Author's Phot.)

Although later by a century than the altar-frontals of Silos (Fig. 243) and San Miguel in Excelsis, it recalls them by the nature and colour of the enamels, and the decorative importance given to the metal.

The remark made concerning the princely statue at Leon applies equally to four polychrome monuments set into the walls of the old Cathedral at Salamanca. The tomb of the singer Aparicio (d. 1270) has already been given as a fine example of *Mudejar* sepulchral art (p. 155). The entablature consists of a black frieze decorated with gold arabesques, and a honeycomb cornice, borrowed apparently from the palace of some Moorish prince.

If we turn eastward from Salamanca, we find at Estella, the church of San Sepulcro, the tympanum of which may be compared, in its degree, with those of Leon and Burgos (Fig. 319).

The precious diptych of carved and painted ivory in the Escorial (Fig. 320), known as the *Libro de la Pasión* (c. 1300), is so exceptional in dimensions and style that

are derived from the schools of the Ile-de-France. But they, too, bear the impress of Spain.

What are we to say of the statues in the cloister, representing a king, a queen, and five children. Are they portraits of Alonso X. (1252-1284), his wife Violante, and their five sons? Everything favours the hypothesis.

Another portrait, that of the founder of the Cathedral, Bishop Maurice, who died in 1328, occurs once on the central column of the *Sarmental* doorway (Fig. 318), and again in the choir. The second portrait is a recumbent figure of gilded brass, partially enamelled.



FIG. 313.—ROYAL STATUE.

(Cathedral of Leon.)

(Author's Phot.)

## ART IN SPAIN

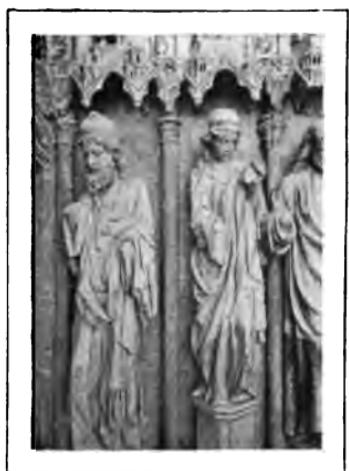


FIG. 314.—APOSTLES, PORCH OF THE CATHEDRAL OF LEON.  
(Author's Phot.)

it must be classified as statuary in bas-relief, and as a work of the Castilian school.

The differences of style noted in the architecture of Castille and Aragon persist in the sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The statues on the façade of the Cathedral of Tarragona are not all of a common origin (Fig. 321). One group consisting of nine Apostles was ordered by Archbishop Olivella from Master Bartolomé in 1278; the second, comprising the three other Apostles, and the nine Prophets, was executed by Master Jayme Castaylo in 1376. Although one group is a century later than the other, both

are heavy and have many characteristics in common. They seem to have come from Castilian workshops. On the other hand, the graceful and elegant Virgin placed against the central pier of the doorway (Fig. 322) is akin in every respect to the Gilded Virgin of the south porch at Amiens. The very interesting tomb of the Archbishop Juan of Aragon, son of Jaime II. who died in 1334 and was buried in the cathedral (Fig. 323), and the two royal monuments in the Church of Santa Creus, are also obviously French in inspiration.

The Holy Sepulchre of Perpignan (Fig. 324), a fine polychrome group (the painting later than the sculpture), a heritage from Roussillon, is far superior to the figures of Jayme Castaylo. But the masterpiece of the Catalan School of the sixteenth century is the monument of



FIG. 315.—PARADISE.  
(Cathedral of Leon.)  
(Author's Phot.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD

Lope Fernandez of Luna, Archbishop of Saragossa (d. 1382), which occupies a funerary chapel in the *Mudejar* style, constructed in the cathedral during the prelate's life-time. Crowned with the mitre, and draped in his mantle, the pontiff lies extended, his head on a cushion, the embroideries of which are carefully reproduced. The face, modelled by a master-hand, has an expression of heavenly beatitude. On the frieze of the mausoleum, and round the niche of which he occupies the centre, monks lament their benefactor. Each figure is treated simply, without either stiffness or lack of dignity. The seated statues in the angles are perhaps even superior to the others in their nobility of form, and the vigour of the sentiment they express.



FIG. 317.—CATHEDRAL OF LEON. TOMB OF ORDOÑO II.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 316.—CATHEDRAL OF LEON.  
TOMB OF BISHOP MANRIQUE DE LARA.  
(Author's Phot.)

Although the tomb of the Archbishop of Saragossa is closely akin to that of Philippe le Hardi, who died in 1404 (designed by Jean Marville and sculptured by Claus Sluter), it is not a copy of this, as the dates sufficiently prove; but it is imitated from the French tombs with mourners (*pleurants*) of an earlier period. We may, I think, venture to attribute it to that Pere Morague of Barcelona, who had executed the famous *custodia* for the corporal of Daroca at the Archbishop's command in 1380 (Fig. 377). In any case, Aragon had established

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relations with Burgundy, and under the influence of the schools of the North her sculptors had made such rapid progress that a Catalan, Juan de la Huerta, born at Daroca, was chosen to execute the tomb of Jean sans Peur (d. 1419) and of his wife, Duchess Margaret of Bavaria.

The causes of the first efflorescence of Catalan sculpture will be deduced from the study of painting. At present I merely note its happy effects and mention certain illustrious names in the domain of the plastic arts. Such are Guillem de la Mota and Pere Johan de Vallfogona (*inf. p. 165*) ; Jordi Johan, also known as Maestre Jordi, a master image-maker ; and yet another Pere Johan. We have by Jordi Johan the monument of the Infanta Juana, Countess of Ampurias, which Pedro IV. ordered in 1386, and the Archangel Raphael over the fine door of the Casa Consistorial (Fig. 275) ; by Pere Johan the second, the Saint George and the gargoyle of the Disputacio door at Barcelona (Fig. 277). It was Pedro Oller who, in 1420, carved the reredos of the high altar in the Cathedral of Vich, and in 1442 the tomb of Fernando I. of Aragon. There were also artists such as Marcos Canyes, Francisco Vilardell, the Pere Morague already mentioned, and the unknown author of the incomparable *custodia* of Vich Cathedral, the exquisite figures of which, enframed in delicate goldsmith's work, give a very favourable idea of Catalan sculpture at the beginning of the fifteenth century.



FIG. 319.—ESTELLA. CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 318.—BURGOS. CATHEDRAL. SARMENTAL DOOR.

(Author's Phot.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD



FIG. 320.—THE BOOK OF THE PASSION.

FRAGMENT.

(Cathedral of Seville.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

the first in which architects and sculptors in talent is the reredos with the armorial rebus of the Bishop Don Dalmacio of Mur, which Pere Johan de Vallfogona and Guillem de la Mota began in 1426 for the Cathedral of Tarragona (Fig. 326). Exquisite pinnacles rise over a bas-relief representing the Virgin and the Divine Child. Right and left, two beautiful figures, larger than life, contemplate the group with pious emotion. One represents St. Paul, and the other a disciple of the Apostle, Saint Thekla, martyred at Tarragona. On the predella the Saint appears with a seraphic countenance and clasped hands, praying in the midst of the flames that surround her naked body without burning it (Fig. 327). Further on she shows the same

The works of these men show that the schools of the North, now the Burgundian and now the French school, governed the workshops of Aragon and Castille; but they also prove that foreign masters had gained very little hold over the vigorous individuality of Spanish artists. The immense polychrome reredoses with which the churches were provided in the Middle Ages and at the Renaissance are the works in which this individuality is most strongly displayed. They are enlargements of the triptychs which the chaplains of the Christian armies placed on camp altars. They had a glorious origin, and Spain did not hesitate at any sacrifice to perpetuate their memory. One of



FIG. 321.—TARRAGONA. PORCH OF THE CATHEDRAL.

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FIG. 322.—VIRGIN. (See Fig. 321.)  
(Cathedral of Tarragona.)  
(Author's Phot.)

bas-reliefs cut in the alabaster are relieved against a sky formed by plaques of dark blue enamel patterned with gold foliage. It is probable that Pere Johan and Guillem de la Mota adopted this blue harmony in order to place the saint in a virginal, celestial atmosphere.



FIG. 323.—TOMB OF JUAN OF ARAGON.  
(Cathedral of Tarragona.)  
(Phot. Lévy.)

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tranquillity in a pond full of reptiles into which she was thrown (Fig. 328). Then there are the bulls which are about to drag the young saint along and tear her youthful flesh on the stones of the road.

In spite of the havoc wrought in this reredos, as in many other works of marble and alabaster, by washing, it retains so many traces of gold and colour that it is easy to reconstruct the colour-scheme. Roughly speaking, this was gold and blue. In the architectural portions gold was used for the projecting members and light blue for the fillets and flat backgrounds. The carnations vary according as to whether they are used for the saint, the women who surround her, or the executioners who are torturing her. The draperies of cloth of gold are lined with dark blue damascened with gold. Finally the

The Tarragona reredos put the seal on the reputation of Pere Johan of Vallfogona. Accordingly, in 1436, even before he had finished it, Don Dalmacio de Mur, nominated Archbishop of Saragossa, commissioned him to execute a reredos for the high altar of the Seo (*inf. p. 168*). The composition is dignified, and the technique extraordinarily perfect. The

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central subject is the *Adoration of the Magi*. Respectful admiration is finely expressed in the ecstasy of the faces, the kneeling attitude of one of the kings, and the position of his hands. A second king, beautiful as a god, advances bearing a jar of frankincense. A few figures, partly concealed by the manger, and showing beyond the pointed arch of the frame, suggest an anxious and deeply moved crowd in the background.

The Navarrese School remained even more closely in touch with French traditions than the Castilian and Catalan Schools. The relations between France and Spain had, in fact, become very close since the marriage of Princess Juana, daughter and heiress of Enrique I. (1273-1304) with Philippe le Bel.

We may suppose that the architect of the Pampeluna cloisters was a Frenchman, like the bishop who caused them to be built. That the sculptor was, we know by his signature, above the *Adoration of the Magi*, a high relief resting on a plinth imbedded in the wall: *Jacques Pérut fit cet estoire*. The so-called *Preciosa* door of the ancient chapter house (Fig. 329), and the

console which supports the reader's pulpit in the ancient refectory (Fig. 330), where scenes illustrating the legend of the *Virgin and the Unicorn* are treated in a charming style, are also French in manner, if not in workmanship.

Two fine tombs with mourners occupy the centre of the old convent kitchen (*sup. p. 144*).



FIG. 324.—HOLY SEPULCHRE.  
(Church of Réal Perpignan.)  
(Author's Phot.)

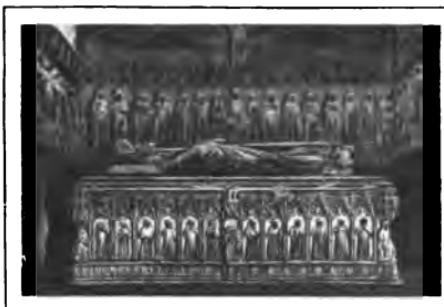


FIG. 325.—TOMB OF LOPE DE LUNA.  
(Seo of Saragossa.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

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They are the monuments of Don Carlos el Noble (Charles III., 1387-1425) and his wife, Doña Leonor de Castilla (Figs. 331, 332). The king is wrapped in a golden cope. His draperies are edged with a galloon of French blue studded with golden *fleurs-de-lis*. The queen, whose chestnut hair is confined in a gold net, wears a crown, and rests her head on a cushion of French blue. Save for the deep cavetto of the cymatium and the frieze on which the mourners (*pleurants*) appear in relief, both of black marble, the two monuments are executed in the beautiful alabaster of



FIG. 326.—PERE JOHAN DE VALLFOGONA AND GUILLEM DE LA MOTA.  
REREDOS OF SAINT THEKLA. (Cathedral of Tarragona)

Sastago (a quarry near Saragossa) in which the reredos of the Seo and that of Nuestra Senora del Pilar (p. 166, 223) were carved. Johan Lomé of Tournay, whom the king commissioned in 1416 to prepare his tomb, was inspired by the famous tomb of Philippe le Hardi (*sup.* p. 163).

Down to about the year 1400 Spain remained faithful to France and Burgundy. In the following period Burgundy ousted France, and subsequently Flanders and Germany acquired such influence that the Northern artists soon became, sometimes the collaborators,

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sometimes the rivals, of their Spanish *confrères*. The action of these schools was obvious about 1475, and preponderant at the close of the century, when Toledo, where a few families of Brussels artists had settled, granted civic rights to certain Dutchmen and Germans, among them the brothers Guas, Egas Anequin, and Juan Aleman. The evolution affected the style rather than the nature of the works. The reredos continued to be the common goal of effort; but in figures or in groups here and there, the expressive realism which prevailed in Northern countries began to make its appearance. The Christs are emaciated, and the Virgins are of the age of women whose sons are of the age of Jesus when He died on Golgotha. This new departure is especially notable in the reredos of the Convent of San Francis (Valladolid Museum), in the wooden bas-relief over the door of the hospital at Huesca, and the reredos set in an exquisite framework like some delicately chased jewel (Fig. 333).

On the other hand the Cathedral of Burgos possesses a reredos (Chapel of the Condestable; *inf.* p. 212), which reveals a reaction against the realism of the preceding works. Thus, among the exquisite figures adorning it, we note that of Saint Anne, to whom the altar is dedicated (Fig. 334). She looks like a smiling maiden, and yet she bears in her arms the Virgin and the Child Jesus, who is having a reading lesson. This is the *Anna Selbdritt* or *triplex*, the model of which made its appearance in Germany as early as 1351.



FIG. 327.—REREDOS OF SAINT THEKLA. FRAGMENT.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 328.—REREDOS OF SAINT THEKLA. FRAGMENT.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 329.—“PRECIOSA” DOOR.  
(Cathedral of Pampluna.)

which, according to tradition, was brought back by Columbus (Fig. 335).

Juan de Padilla, page to their Catholic Majesties, was killed at the siege of Granada, pierced by a dart through the head. The queen, who had a great affection for him, and called him *mi loco* (my lunatic) on account of his ardour and his valour, commissioned the artist who had executed the tombs of her parents to raise one for her page in the monastery of Fresdelval (Fig. 337). The Descent from the Cross above the faldstool at which Juan de Padilla kneels and the Gothic wainscot below are in such violent contrast to the statue and the rest of the work as to suggest that this background may have come from some earlier monument. But this is not the case. Gil de Siloé had sought inspiration in the religious architecture still in favour to represent the oratory, whereas he treated the

A few works by Gil de Siloé and Diego de la Cruz reflect the taste that obtained at the dawn of the Renaissance in various respects. The reredos mentioned above is ascribed to Gil de Siloé (Fig. 334); other works of his known to us are the funerary statues of Don Juan II., of his second wife, Doña Isabel (Fig. 336), and of their son, the Infante Alonso, the father, mother, and brother of Isabella the Catholic, who were buried in the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores, close to Burgos. He further executed, but in collaboration with Diego de la Cruz, the polychrome reredos in the chapel (1490), which was gilded with the first nuggets



FIG. 330.—THE UNICORN AND THE VIRGIN.  
PULPIT.  
(Cathedral of Pampluna.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 331.—JOHAN LOME. TOMB OF DON CARLOS EL NOBLE AND OF DOÑA LEONOR DE CASTILLA.  
(Cathedral of Pampluna.)  
(Author's Phot.)

Parral (a suburb of Segovia), built by Juan Gallego towards the end of the fifteenth century. The brothers Guas are the only artists to whom it could be ascribed.

In Spain religious memorials are generally placed in the churches or under the porches. But a few fine stone crosses were erected by roadsides during the Gothic period. One of these is at Durango (Basque Provinces). It is in the best French style. On the other hand, the painted statues of the Cathedral of Albi (Fig. 339) and a few other painted statues in the Toulouse Museum show many affinities to the naturalistic polychrome sculpture which flourished south of the Pyrenees towards the end of the fifteenth century (*sup. p. 168*).

In the south as in the north, the erection of Christian places of worship resulted in the opening of sculptors' workshops and the immigration of foreign artists. One of the first to arrive at Seville, Lorenzo de Mercadente, was a Breton, if we may believe Cean Bermudez. He landed towards the time when Master Rogel, Juan

figure and the ornaments in the taste of the Italian Renaissance. His work is the first evidence of a new evolution of sculpture at the close of the sixteenth century, and a proof of its rapidity.

The author of the recumbent statue of Doña Beatriz Pacheco (Fig. 338) claims a place beside Gil de Siloé. This delicate and accomplished piece of work lies neglected in the ancient church of the



FIG. 332.—TOMB OF DON CARLOS EL NOBLE.  
DETAILS.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 333.—DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.  
(Cathedral of Palencia.)  
(Author's Phot.)

altar. His successors were his Francisco, and Bernardino de Ortega. Together with these names we find that of Andres de Covarrubias, who painted and diapered the first statues in the year 1519. In the course of the century which it took to finish this immense reredos all the eminent architects, sculptors, painters and gilders in the south of Spain were summoned to work upon it. The result is not commensurate with the effort. This agglomeration of gilding, painting and sculpture, which rises from the pavement to the vault of the church, disconcerts more than it charms. There is an obvious lack of homogeneity and proportion between the work as a whole and its various elements.

de Bruxelas, and Anequin Egas, were initiating northern Spain into Flemish painting, sculpture, and architecture. He is known as the author of the tomb of Cardinal Cervantes, one of the finest works in the Cathedral of Seville. Two of his pupils, Nufro Sanchez, who began the choir-stalls about 1475, and Dancart, who finished them in 1479, successively held the post of master-sculptor to the cathedral. It is a question to which of these two artists we should attribute the delicious *Virgen del Reposo* (Fig. 340).

Four years after the completion of the stalls, Dancart undertook the reredos for the high disciples, Marco and Bernardo



FIG. 334.—GIL DE SILOË. SAINT ANNE,  
THE VIRGIN AND THE HOLY CHILD.  
ALTAR OF SANTA ANA.

(Burgos Cathedral.)  
(Phot. Levy.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD

While Dancart's pupils were carving the reredos of the cathedral, Pedro Millan, a disciple of Nufro Sanchez, showed himself greatly superior to his *confrères*. The date of his birth is unknown, but it appears that by the year 1505 he had completed for the ciborium of the cathedral certain statues which were destroyed on December 28, 1512, when the cupola fell in. The following at Seville, all bearing the great artist's signature in Gothic characters, are among his finest works : the medallions on the principal entrance of Santa Paula, the terra-cotta statues which decorate the two doors of the Cathedral known as the Puerta del Nacimiento (Fig. 341) and the Puerta del Bautismo (Fig. 342), the bas-reliefs incrusted in their pointed tympana and a Virgin of painted terra-cotta in the Chapel of Nuestra Señora del Pilar (Fig. 343). Broadly speaking, Pedro Millan may be said to have had the temperament of an artist educated in the Flemish tradition introduced into Burgundy at the end of the fourteenth century. He might have been a re-incarnation at Seville of Claus Sluter.

*Catalan School.*—From the date of the union of Aragon and Sicily under Alonso III. (1285-1291), Italian influences, negligible in the domain of architecture, which enjoyed an ancient and solid national standing, affected painting very sensibly.

The duration of this first contact was shorter, and its intensity less marked in proportion to distance from the eastern coast-line. Then great painters such as the Florentines Gherardo Starnina and Dello, and the Flemings Alemany and Jan van Eyck came to Spain. A period of vacillation ensued, which allowed France, Burgundy and the Comtat Venaissin to dominate in the reign of Juan I. (1387-1395) after his marriage with the daughter of the Duc de Bar, while Italy, and notably Siena, came into favour again under King Martin (1395-1410), who had spent his youth in Sicily. Finally, in the



FIG. 335.—GIL DE SILOÉ AND DIEGO DE LA CRUZ. REREDOS OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

(Charterhouse, Miraflores.)

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FIG. 336.—GIL DE SILEÓ. TOMB OF DON JUAN II AND OF DOÑA ISABEL.  
(Charterhouse, Miraflores.) (Phot. Lévy.)

the same Virgin, the same apostles, and the same gilded background pierced by a beautiful glimpse of blue sky. Like all the artists of his day, Borrassa at first feared to attack the problem of shadows. He grappled with it in the *Pentescostés* of Santa Ana at Barcelona. The altarpieces in Todos los Santos (Fig. 344) and Santa Clara (San Cugat del Vallés) are works executed in the maturity of his powers. That of San Juan Bautista (Fig. 345) belongs to his school, if it is not by him.

After the death of Borrassa, Benito Martorell inherited his fame. We know that he studied in Florence, and that he had returned to Barcelona during the reign of Alfonso V. (1416—

middle of the fifteenth century, the arts of Flanders and Rhenish Germany exercised a preponderant action for a time.

Ferrer de Bassa, who decorated the royal monastery of Pedralvez in the course of the fifteenth century, has all the prestige of a glorious precursor, but the true founder of the new school was Luis Borrassa (1366?—1424). The authentic altarpiece of San Llorens of Morunys (1415) in the Museum of Vich enables us to attribute to this painter the *Pentescostés* (Descent of the Holy Ghost) of Manresa and of Santa Ursula de Cardona, where we find



FIG. 337.—GIL DE SILEÓ. TOMB OF JUAN DE PADILLA.  
(Burgos Museum.) (Phot. Lévy.)

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1458). His earliest work is the altarpiece of San Nicolas of Bari (Manresa, Catalonia). Other works by him are the magnificent altarpieces of the *Transfiguracion* (in the chapter-house of Barcelona Cathedral), and of *San Marcos* (Fig. 348). The drawing is correct, the composition well balanced, the gestures appropriate, though they show a tendency to exaggeration. Martorell had a better

sense of equestrian perspective than Borrassá, and treats feet and hands more skilfully than his predecessors. He lived at the time of the triumph of Brunelleschi's work. Thus, those of his rivals who, like himself, had frequented Italian workshops, reproduced the monuments of the Italian Renaissance, although the national architecture was still Gothic. Nevertheless, the French miniaturists, who

FIG. 338.—TOMB OF DONA BEATRIX PACHECO.  
(Church of Parral, Segovia.)  
(Author's Phot.)

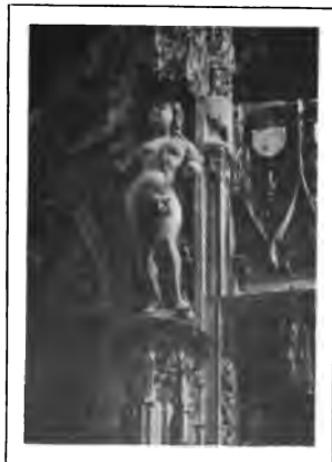


FIG. 339.—EVE.—ROOD-SCREEN IN  
THE CATHEDRAL OF ALBI.  
(Author's Phot.)

by the end of the fifteenth century were reproducing towns, the accidents of the soil, vegetation, flowers, and endeavouring to put each object and each person on its true plane, continued to be highly esteemed. To be convinced of this, we need but compare the *Saint George* of the Vidal Ferrer Collection at Barcelona (Fig. 347) with the representation of the same saint (Fig. 346) by the painter of the *Hours* of Maréchal de Bouicaut (André Collection, Paris) of about the year 1402. The plagiarism of the Spanish artist is flagrant. There is the same dark rider on a white horse, the position of the horse and the attitude of the saint are identical in each, there is the same richly dressed young woman

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FIG. 340.—VIRGIN OF  
SLUMBER.  
(VIRGEN DEL REPOSO.)  
(Cathedral of Seville.)

(Author's Phot.)

(San Miguel at Tarrasa) shows. He still makes use of gold backgrounds. The diadems, the borders of the draperies, and the aureoles are also gilded, and even have portions in relief which enhance the splendour of the metal. In details of this kind he resembles the painters of the beginning of the fifteenth century; but he rises above them by the nobility and expression of his figures, the science of his line, and the freshness and brilliance of his colour.

Painters were advancing along the path on which Martorell had shown the way, when the author of the triptych of Belchite (Prov. of Saragossa, 1439), and a great artist, Luis Dalmau, who from 1432 onward had passed some years in Flanders, struck out in a new direction. On June 6, 1443, the Council of a Hundred at Barcelona decided to place an altarpiece over the altar of their chapel, and to confide the execution of it to Luis Dalmau "as to the best and most skilful painter to be found." The work was finished in 1445: *Sub anno MCCCCXLV per Ludovicum Dalmau*

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FIG. 341.—PEDRO MILLAN. PUERTA  
DEL NACIMIENTO.  
(Cathedral of Seville.)

(Author's Phot.)

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*fui depictum* is inscribed on the Virgin's seat. Such was the origin of the famous altarpiece of the Councillors (*de los Concelleres*). The endeavour to render nature without convention, the modelling, and the superior qualities of the technique recall the works of the great Flemish masters. The Virgin with her sedate attitude would also be Flemish had she not the type and the plastic grace of the young Catalan women (Fig. 349). The same may be said of the angelic choristers, the idea of which Dalmau borrowed from the polyptych at Ghent, executed by Jan and Hubert van Eyck, while their warm carnations recall the golden complexions of the girls of Barcelona (Figs. 349, 350).

Dalmau did not recruit his best pupils in Catalonia. The tradition he had interrupted was taken up again under the ægis of a

veritable dynasty of painters, the Vergos family, which made its *début* about 1434 with Jaime, and ended towards 1503 with his nephews or his sons, Jaime, the second, Rafael, and Pablo. Spain is indebted to the Vergos for some very fine altar-pieces, among them those of the confraternity of the *Revendedores* of Barcelona, of the *Condestable* (Mus. de Antigüedades of Barcelona) of *San Esteban* (Rectoria of Granollers del Vallés) of *San Vicente* (Fig. 351), of *San Antonio Abad* (Fig. 352). A *Saint Michael overcoming Satan* (Plate I.) and a few votive pictures are also attributed to their school (Fig. 354). In these paintings the gilded backgrounds are ornamented with embossed palm-leaves, and the haloes of the saints are formed of concentric circles in relief.



FIG. 343.—PEDRO MILLAN,  
VIRGIN.  
(Cathedral of Seville.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 342.—PEDRO MILLAN, HEAD  
OF A BISHOP, PUERTA DEL BAUTISMO,  
(Cathedral of Seville.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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This abuse of gold was a detail insisted on by the patrons of painters. Only some exceptional artists, such as Dalmau and the author of the *Saint George*, ventured to defy the convention. The consequence is that the works of the Vergos have an archaic character contradicted by the distinguished qualities they manifest, qualities no longer to be found in the works of their young contemporaries. The last artist I shall mention is Jaime Serra, who in 1461 painted for the monastery of the Santo Sepulcro at Saragossa the magnificent altar-piece it still possesses.

*Valencian School.*—From the early years of the thirteenth century the kingdom of Valencia had a school of painting which, after the example of the Catalan School, soon began to oscillate between Italy, France and Burgundy (Fig. 353).

With

the possible exception of the triptych of the Carthusian monastery of Porta Cœli (end of the fourteenth century, Museum of Valencia), no very remarkable work issued from it at first.

Certain critics believe that it was at Valencia Starnina sojourned at the end of the fourteenth century, in the course of his long journey in Spain, and that Jan van Eyck also visited it in 1428. In this case, the School of Valencia probably owed them its first successes. Be this as it may, on October 27, 1440, King Alfonso V. of Aragon, detained by the siege of Naples, ordered the baily of Valencia to send him the son of Mestre Jaime Jacomart, whose talent had been



FIG. 344.—LUIS BORRASSÁ.  
VIRGIN IN GLORY. ALTARPIECE  
OF TODOS LOS SANTOS.

(San Cugat del Vallés.)

(Phot. Inst. d'Estudis  
catalans.)



FIG. 345.—SCHOOL OF BORRASSÁ.  
SALOME. ALTARPIECE OF SAN JUAN  
BAUTISTA.

(Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris.)

(Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 346.—SAINT GEORGE. HOURS OF MARSHAL DE BOUCICAUT.

commended to him. Two years later he commissioned this artist to paint the altarpiece of Santa Maria della Pace in Naples. This work, and those which Jacomart Baçó subsequently undertook, kept him in Italy for nearly eleven years. When he returned to Valencia in 1451 his powers were at their ripest. The south-east of Spain possesses Jacomart Baçó's altarpieces at Caté (1460) and Segorbe, as well as the triptych presented to the collegiate church of Játiva by Cardinal Alfonso Borgia. Jacomart's painting is archaic, and overloaded with guilloched gold, but it is dexterous and learned. The modelling is emphasised without the aid of harsh shadows. The blues and carmines are soft as velvet; the greys

have the delicacy of fur. In spite of his long sojourn in Italy, the master had retained a predilection for Van Eyck, and he showed this in his treatment of the heads of women and of angels with frizzled hair, as well as in the rich harmonies of his triptychs. In the dual aspect of his talent he represents the Flemish stage through which the schools of Spain passed in a more or less pronounced degree in the second half of the fifteenth century, and also appears as the precursor of the Valencian Renaissance.

*Castilian School.*—The first names to be noted in the history of painting in Castille are those of Florentine artists. If it was not the case that Juan I. (1379–1390) invited Starnina to the country in 1383, as was supposed until now, Dello at least arrived in the reign of Juan II. (1407–1454), and no doubt executed the altarpiece in the old Cathedral of Salamanca and the fresco in a pronounced Giottesque style



FIG. 347.—BENITO MARTORELL. SAINT GEORGE.  
(Vidal Ferrer y Soler Collection, Barcelona.)  
(Phot. Inst. d'Estudis catalans.)

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FIG. 348.—BENITO MARTORELL.  
CONSECRATION OF SANTO ANIANO.  
ALTARPIECE OF SAN MARCOS,  
BASILICA OF MANRESA.

(Phot. Inst. d'Estudis catalans.)

in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and those of the altarpiece of San Cugat del Vallés (*sup. pp. 80, 174*). It is well known that Luis Borrassa, the author of this altarpiece, became famous at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that the reliquary is dated 1390. However, I do not assert that the archangels are by Borrassa; and secondly, it is possible that these paintings, which are more modern than those on the outside, may have been added at a later date. But I do claim to restore to Spain an artistic jewel which undoubtedly belongs to her as a whole, in spite of all attempts to rob her of it.

It was in 1428 that Jan van Eyck undertook the famous journey into Spain and Portugal, in consequence of which Enrique IV. (1454–1474) bought a

above it (1445). Nevertheless, the first works claimed by the school are in the Catalan-Sienese manner. Such is the votive picture of Enrique II. (1369–1379) and Queen Juana (Fig. 356). The marvellous triptych-reliquary of the monastery of Piedra, completed in 1390, even has paintings of national traditions (Figs. 357 to 359). Indeed, if the twelve scenes which adorn the outsides of the shutters recall Catalan pictures executed in the manner of the French miniaturists of the end of the fourteenth century, the angel-musicians of the inside stand upon a *Mudejar* pavement; they wear upon their robes decorative inscriptions in Arabic and in Gothic characters, and recall the angels of the *Commentary of Beatus*



FIG. 349.—LUIS DALMAU. ALTARPIECE OF THE  
COUNCILLORS.

(Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona.)  
(Phot. Inst. d'Estudis catalans.)

## GOTHIC PERIOD



FIG. 350.—SCHOOL OF DALMAU.  
CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.  
(Prado Museum.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Pedro Berruguete, Jorge Inglés, Fernando Gallegos, Juan Flamenco, and Juan de Borgoña.

The first is the reputed author of an *Angelic Salutation*, a *Visitation* (Fig. 360), a *Circumcision* (Fig. 361), and a *Death of the Virgin*.

Pedro Berruguete's *Auto de Fe* is a warm and vigorous painting, with strongly-marked Venetian traits (Museum, Madrid). Unfortunately, the drawing is not equal to the colour; and the figures, in spite of their realistic character, are dryly relieved against backgrounds of gold or silver.

Jorge Inglés is the author of the precious altarpiece which Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, Mar-

number of Flemish pictures. Among them was a masterpiece: the *Triumph of the Church over the Synagogue* (Museo del Prado), presented to the monastery of the Parral in 1454. From this time forth artistic relations, favoured by the family ties which united the reigning houses, became more and more frequent between Castille, Burgundy, and Flanders, and the Castilian School in its turn began to show leanings towards the North.

Among painters of the second half of the fifteenth century were the Master of the monastery of Sisla, some of whose works reproduce details borrowed from *Mudejar* architecture (Fig. 360),



FIG. 351.—PABLO VERGÓS. ORDINATION OF  
SAINT VINCENT. ALTARPIECE OF SAN VICENTE  
DE SORIA.

(Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona.)  
(Phot. Inst. d'Estudis catalans.)

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FIG. 352.—VERGÓS. SAN ANTONIO ABAD EXORCISTA.

(Fragment of altarpiece burnt with the Church of San Antonio in 1909.)  
Barcelona.)

(Phot. Thomas.)

Fernando Gallegos was born at Salamanca, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. In style he is also akin to Roger van der Weyden and Dirck Bouts. As he loved to render sumptuous costumes, slashed boots, gaily coloured cloaks, and the trappings of war, he has been nicknamed the Master of Accoutrements.

The *Bearing of the Cross* (Fig. 362) and the altar-piece of the Cathedral of Zamora, finished in 1470, are glorious paintings. Gallegos' principal work seems to have been the triptych in the Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo which was sold in fragments.

Juan Flamenco and Juan de Borgoña were no doubt natives of the north. The Carthusian monastery of Miraflores possessed a

FIG. 353.—SCHOOL OF VALENCIA. ALTAR-PIECE OF THE ASCENSION. FRAGMENT. (Museum, Valencia.) (Phot. Lacoste.)



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series of pictures by the former dealing with the life and death of Saint John. The second painted in fresco for the Cathedral of Toledo, the *Life of the Virgin* and the *Taking of Oran*, also some portraits of Archbishops, and collaborated largely in the painting of the altar-piece (*inf. p. 191*). The works of Flamenco and of Juan de Borgoña belong to the last years of the fifteenth and the first years of the sixteenth century. Towards the end of his career Juan de Borgoña was attracted by the Italian style.

Antonio del Rincón was the first Castilian painter who broke with the schools of the North. Born at Guadalajara in 1446, he left Spain for Italy in his youth, studied his art in the workshop of Domenico Ghirlandajo, and on his return, was appointed court-painter. Portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella are attributed to him (Fig. 363).

In any case, *Their Catholic Majesties praying before the Virgin* (about 1491), one of the jewels of the Prado, is a work too perfect technically to be ascribed to him (Fig. 364). The only authenticated work by Rincón is *The Life of the Virgin*, the altarpiece of Robledo. The drawing is timid and artless, but already sincere and flexible.

Rincón was succeeded in his office by Francisco Chacon, who was primarily a royal censor. It was his business to see "that no Musulman or Jew be audacious enough to paint the figure of the Saviour, nor that of his glorious Mother, nor any other saint of our religion" (Letter of Isabella, December 20, 1480).

Together with the paintings of

FIG. 355.—SAINT MARTIN AND SAINT THEKLA.  
(Archbishop's Palace, Saragossa.)  
(Phot. Hauser y Mencl.)



FIG. 354.—SCHOOL OF THE VERGOS. SAINT MICHAEL.  
(José Lazar Coll., Madrid.)

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which the authorship is established there are some which we regret to be unable to classify. Among the most notable of these is an altar-piece at Daroca (Fig. 365). The strange grace of the female figures, the flowing line, and the drawing of the eyes recall the style of Persian faience and manuscripts executed under Chinese influences. No less worthy of attention, though very different in character, is a *Saint Dominic* (Fig. 366), also from Daroca. It manifests a very powerful temperament, and if, as everything seems to indicate, it belongs to an Aragono-Castilian school, it is its most precious jewel. On the other hand, certain pictures painted in Castille at the end of the Gothic period (Fig. 355) are akin to Catalan works.

*Navarrese School.*—Navarre, so hospitable to French artists, extended this hospitality to tapestry-weavers, who executed the magnificent pieces in the castles of Olete and Tafala from the cartoons of the Parisian decorators Colin Bataille and Jean Dourdin.

*Andalusian School.*—At Seville the oldest pictures are in the French style. The *Virgen de la Antigua* (Cathedral), the *Virgen de Rocamadour* (Church of San Lorenzo), the *Virgen del Corral* (Church of San Ildefonso) belong to this category.

FIG. 356.—CASTILLIAN SCHOOL.  
DON ENRIQUE II AND DOÑA  
JUANA AT THE FEET OF THE  
VIRGIN.

(Coll. Roman Vicente, Saragossa.)  
(Phot. E. Bertaux.)



FIG. 357.—RELIQUARY OF PIEDRA.  
(Academy of History, Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



(Coll. Roman Vicente, Saragossa.)  
(Phot. E. Bertaux.)

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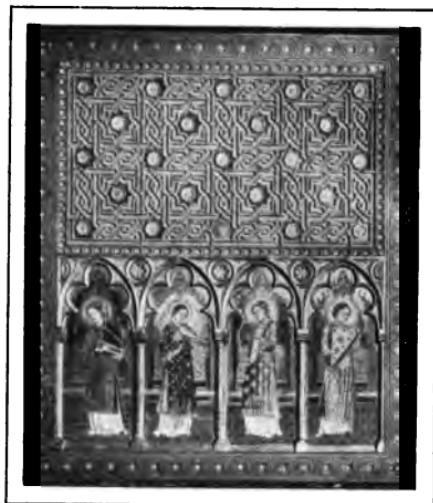


FIG. 358.—RELIQUARY OF PIEDRA. INNER SIDE OF SHUTTER. (Phot. Lacoste.)

his anatomical learning was faulty, but we understand what an artist of his gifts would have become if his qualities had been developed in a sphere suitable to their expansion, we must compare him with Alfonso de Baena (Fig. 367) and Bartolomé Bermejo (Fig. 368), two of his compatriots and contemporaries who studied in the school of Dalmau.

It is a question whether the pictures signed either Bartolomé Bermejo, or Bartolomeus Rubeus (the Latin translation of the Spanish name) are by one and the same master, and whether he, again, is to be identified with the painter who in 1490 signed and dated the *Pietà* in the Cathedral of

grounds of red and yellow ochre, and of light indigo. The arms of the donor enable us to fix 1445 as the date of these frescoes.

Twenty years later Andalusian art was represented by Pedro de Cordoba and Juan Sanchez de Castro, the true founder of the school. The first was the author of an *Incarnation*, signed and dated 1475, and the second also signed and dated his altarpiece at Santa Lucia. Sanchez de Castro had no knowledge of perspective, he supplemented the expressive power of his figures by explanatory inscriptions, and



FIG. 359.—RELIQUARY OF PIEDRA. OUTER SIDE OF SHUTTER. (Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 360.—THE VISITATION.  
(Prado Museum, No. 2179-D.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

contours, by an abuse of gold, an elaborate study of types and costumes, a dramatic rendering of legend, an original manner of representing the episodes of life, and a very religious, but at the same time very naturalistic feeling. Further, the schools of each province show particular characteristics, apparent enough to begin with, but gradually diminishing in intensity at the approach, and more notably at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Fig. 355).

The Catalans affected transparent tones, harmonious in their richness, even when this was excessive. In spite of their artistic temperament, both Castilians and Andalusians are mournful, by reason of their fondness for earthy tints. The Valencians are frank and energetic; these qualities, combined with a somewhat summary technique, unhappily give a certain

Barcelona : *Opus Bartholomei Vermeio Cordubensis*. The Barcelona picture, the *Saint Michael* in the Wernher Collection, London, which in 1900 was in the Church of Tous, a humble little town in the valley of the Yucar, the *Holy Face* of the Episcopal Museum of Vich (Fig. 368) and that in the collection of Don Pablo Bosch y Barrau of Madrid bear these various signatures, and show undeniable analogies. In colour they are warm and vigorous, and all reveal a powerful individuality, which personal experience and the counsels of the Catalan masters may have modified, but which happily they never subdued.

To what conclusions does this study of the Spanish primitives lead us? We find that in general their works are to be recognised by spare forms and harsh



FIG. 361.—THE CIRCUMCISION.  
(Prado Museum, No. 2182-D.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 362.—GALLEGOS CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS.

(Central shutter, Cathedral of Zamora.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

two copies of this. One was executed by Juan Gonzalez; the other, the finer of the two, must have been written and illuminated at Seville, between 1275 and 1284 (Figs. 369, 370). In its present state it contains 1,226 miniatures. They have the lightness of water-colour with gay and harmonious tones, and are laid upon very slightly tinted backgrounds. Christian and Musulman Spain of the closing thirteenth century lives again in this manuscript. Thus the architecture is *Mudejar*, the pointed arch and the gable are allied to the horse-shoe arch, and in the illustration of Canticles lvi., xc., cxxv., clxxxvii., etc., appear Arab inscriptions and the sacramental formulæ of Islam.

From the end of the thirteenth

hardness to their painting. In the matter of composition, the Catalans and Valencians are more distinguished; the Castilians and Andalusians more realistic.

The Middle Ages are represented in Spain by a rich collection of illuminated manuscripts.

The *Libro de los feudos* of the crown archives of Aragon (thirteenth century), a Bible dated 1240 (National Library, Madrid), the *Breviario de Amor* (Library of the Escorial), thirteenth century, are noteworthy. But the gem of Spanish mediæval manuscripts is the *Codice de los cantares y loores de la Virgen Santa María*, known under the title of *Las Cantigas del rey Sabio*. The Escorial Library possesses



FIG. 363.—ANTONIO DEL RINCÓN.  
(*Attr.*) ISABELLE THE CATHOLIC.  
(Naval Museum, Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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century onward, the Spanish miniaturists drew inspiration from French manuscripts. Without quitting the Escorial, this may be noted in the *Codice de la Coronación* of the fourteenth century, as in the *Historia Troyana* executed for Don Pedro I. of Castille (1350-1369), and imitated from the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. Yet even at this period the national school had not abdicated. Some of its works are marked—and this is perhaps the reason of their pungency—by a contempt for foreign models and ignorance of their authors.

The Flemish infiltration took place in the domain of manuscripts at the same period as in the other arts, but it was circumscribed, and many illuminators continued to follow their native inspiration.

FIG. 364.—THEIR CATHOLIC MAJESTIES AND THEIR FAMILY.

(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

Manuscripts in the Flemish style are related to the school of Willem Vrelant, and are characterised by a tendency to softness of line combined with minuteness of execution. These qualities are apparent in the Book of Hours of Juana Henriquez, mother of Ferdinand the Catholic (Fig. 371). There is no evidence of progress among the authors of miniatures in the national style. They draw badly; they combine long faces, haggard features, and hollow eyes with thickset bodies, and their colour is dull and heavy. The decorations, where French and Flemish illuminators use gay and high tones, are transposed by the Spanish artist into har-



FIG. 365.—THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

(Daroca Triptych.) (Archaeological Museum, Madrid.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 366.—SAINT DOMINIC.  
(Santa Domingo de Silos  
at Daroca.)  
(Archæol. Museum, Madrid.)

monies in black and gold, black and grey, black and white. He seems to be working always for families in deep mourning.

As we draw near to the sixteenth century, we shall find the style of the school of Vrelant mingling with that of the Ghento-Brugian style of the Benings.

Italian taste also makes itself felt towards the middle of the sixteenth century, but it is revealed rather in certain details than in the whole, and the works in which it appears are rare.

The great majority of the manuscripts mentioned above were executed in the north of Spain. The school of Seville, which prefaced its glorious development with the magnificent copy of the *Cantigas del rey Sabio* (Figs. 369, 370), is distinguished by brilliant colour and the use of *Mudejar* formulæ. Its illuminators almost certainly had Persian manuscripts under

their eyes, and if they did not imitate them, they were influenced by them and by their surroundings.

*Woodwork*.—Artistic joinery is classified as fixtures (doors, windows, staircases, wainscots, balustrades) and furniture (tables, beds, seats, credence-tables, chests, desks, fald-stools, and choir-stalls).

The first category comprised doors, often very richly treated, but it is probable that the manner in which they fitted was defective, for they were usually hung with *antepuertas* formed of a very thin mattress covered with Cordovan leather. This leather was also used in the manufacture of those screens which, together with the *antepuertas*, afforded an indispensable defence against draughts in ill-protected rooms, where



FIG. 367.—ALFONSO DE BAENA. MARTYRDOM OF  
SAINT MEDINUS. FRAGMENT.  
(San Cugat del Vallés.)  
(Phot. Thomas.)

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fire-places were replaced by *braseros* (metal basins filled with charcoal).

Spanish furniture is hardly distinguishable from French furniture. But chairs and tables can scarcely have been in general use, since Pedro I. (1350–1369) habitually sat on cushions and rugs in imitation of the Musulmans.

The Archæological Museum at Madrid possesses a choir-stall with three seats, which still shows traces of red decoration (Fig. 372). It came from a convent at Gradases (Province of Leon) and seems to date from the thirteenth century. It is, therefore, in all probability, the ancestor of the magnificent wood-carvings of the Cathedrals and Abbey-churches.

The Gothic choir-stalls of Spain, carved in very hard woods, are sometimes marvels of taste and prodigies of execution. I will briefly describe the finest of them.

*Seo of Saragossa.*—Flemish oak. Begun in 1412, and carved by the Moors, Ali Arrodi, Muza, and Shamar, who were succeeded in 1446 by Juan Navarre and the brothers, Antonio and Francisco Gomar.

*Cathedral of Barcelona.*—The very elegant choir-stalls were carved in 1453 by Matias Bonafé (Fig. 373). The backs with their painted armorial bearings were decorated by German artists, Michel Loquer and his pupil Johan Friedrich. The shields commemorate the Chapter of the Golden Fleece held on March 5, 1519, by Charles V., when the



FIG. 368.—BARTOLOMÉ BERMEJO.  
HOLY FACE.

(Museum of Vich.) (Author's Phot.)



FIG. 369.—LAS CÁNTIGAS DEL REY  
SABIO.

(Library of the Escorial.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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kings of Denmark and Poland were received into the order.

*Cathedral of Seville.*—Work of Nufro Sanchez and Dancart (1475–1479). The much restored archiepiscopal chair is by Dancart. The backs are ornamented with geometrical marquetry in the *Mudejar* style.

*Carthusian Monastery of Miraflores* (near Burgos).—Dark walnut. From the workshop of Martin Sanchez (1486–1489).

*Santa Maria de Najera.*—Due to Andres and Nicolas (1495). (Museum of Valladolid).



FIG. 370.—*LAS CANTIGAS*. DETAIL OF A PAGE.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

*Cathedral of Burgos.*—Carved by Felipe de Borgoña (1499–1512).

*Monastery of the Parral.*—Oak. By Bartolomé Fernandez of Segovia (1526). (Archæological Museum of Madrid.)

*Cathedral of Toledo.*—The seats were ordered by Cardinal Mendoza from Maestro Rodrigo, who represented episodes from the war of Granada upon the backs. (Fig. 374.) He finished them in 1495. Towards 1540, the execution of the backs, their pediments, and the archiepiscopal throne were apportioned to Berruguete and Felipe de Borgoña.)

*Cathedral of Orense.*—Walnut. Executed in the fifteenth century by Diego de Solis and Juan de los Angeles.

*Goldsmiths' Work.*—In the Middle Ages the Treasuries of Spanish



FIG. 371.—*VRELANT.*—DOÑA JUANA HENRÍQUEZ.)

(The Queen's Book of Hours, Library of the Palace, at Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 372.—CHOIR-STALLS OF GRADAFÉS.  
(Archæological Museum, Madrid)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

style, the Spanish churches, on the other hand, possess many pieces from France. Under such conditions an inventory would have little interest. We will accordingly choose some characteristic pieces for mention.

Among such are the fine *custodia* of the corporal of Daroca (Fig. 377), chased by Pere Morague about 1380; a processional cross of the Cathedral of Vich executed in 1394 by

a goldsmith of the city named Juan Carbonell, and a monstrance given by the Canon Despujol in 1413 to the same Cathedral; chalices (Figs. 375, 376) and reliquaries (Fig. 378), which are perfect examples of Spanish goldsmiths' work in the Middle Ages. The monstrance of Barcelona Cathedral (middle of the fifteenth century) deserves to rank with them for elegance of proportions combined with simplicity of design and perfection of chasing. When it is shown it is placed upon a silver throne called, quite baselessly, that of King Martin, which is, however, a precious object dating from the second half of the



FIG. 373.—MATÍAS BONAFÉ. CHOIR-STALLS.  
(Cathedral of Barcelona.)

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fifteenth century. The authors of the monstrances of Vich and Barcelona are unknown. But we know that about 1408 Marcos Canyes delivered the gold plate of their Chapel to the Councillors of Barcelona, and that Francisco Vilardell moulded and chased for the same town the fine pieces of table-plate presented in 1400 to Queen Maria, wife of King Martin (1395–1410). We must further

mention some silver shells mounted as a nef for table-decoration (Fig. 379), the so-called crown and cup of San Fernando (Figs. 380, 381), and the large silver triptych of Nossa Senhora da Oliveira de Guimarães (Portugal), said to have been part of the booty taken after the battle of Aljubarrota (1385), and, in any case, a magnificent specimen of Spanish art (Fig. 655).

*Woven Materials and Embroideries.*—Together with the ivories, pierced brasses, illuminated manuscripts, and weapons of Musulman origin which entered monasteries and palaces, materials and embroideries were acquired. The samples of stuffs which have been preserved and the reproductions of them in miniatures and pictures show that Oriental models were copied at an early period by Spanish craftsmen, and the same may be said of embroideries. A very ancient mitre in the Vich Museum (No. 2,251) at least shows a decoration borrowed both in design and colour from Sassanian models. On the gold ground of the galloon are circles embroidered in silk and green beads, in the centres of which eagles with outspread wings alternate with crosses embroidered in dark blue beads. Nevertheless, owing to the motives required for ecclesiastical embroideries, the artists who



FIG. 374.—MAESTRO RODRIGO. TAKING OF MARBELLA. CHOIR-STALLS.  
(Toledo Cathedral.) (Author's Phot.)



FIG. 375.—CHALICE OF ARCHBISHOP LOPE DE LUNA.  
(Church of Longares, Saragossa.)  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

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FIG. 376.—CHALICE OF ARCHBISHOP DALMACIO DE MUR.  
(Church of Muniesa, Ternel.)  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

Arras in design and technique, as we may see in the Franco-Flemish tapestries of the Seo of Saragossa, and the church del Pilar,

some of which date from the fifteenth century. Finally, we must look among the Brabantine painters and embroiderers established at Barcelona for the masters of the Catalan embroiderers. Their most notable pupils were the members of the large Sardoni family (fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century), to whom, no doubt, we owe the famous altar-frontal of the monastery of San Juan de las Abadesas (about 1414, Museum of Vich).

*Seals and Coins.*—These are often very fine and highly decorative, but they have no distinctive artistic character.

*Minor Mudejar arts—Faience.*—The ramparts and churches of Toledo represented



FIG. 378.—RELIQUARY.  
(Cathedral of Pamplona.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 377.—CUSTODIA OF DAROCa.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

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in the *Codice Vigilanus* (976), as also the *Burning of Babylon* of the *Beatus* (*sup.* p. 80, 81, Fig. 159), show that as early as the proto-*Mudejar* stage Spanish buildings were faced with faience in the Persian style (*sup.* p. 80, 81). The enamelled brick which had been introduced into North Africa, Spain, and Sicily by the Iranian ceramists underwent the same modifications here as in its native land. It was used alone, or combined with lustreless bricks, sometimes cut out to form a kind of marquetry, sometimes in square plaques. The *Kalaa* of the Beni Hammad (Province of Constantine, eleventh century, see Fig. 9), the mosques of Tlemcen (Province of Oran), the monuments of Morocco, the Alcazar of Seville, the Alhambra, the Seo of Saragossa, the Cathedral of Tarragona in Spain, show every variety of these facings.

Spain did not borrow the manufacture and use of faience facings only from Persia. She also received the art of giving a metallic lustre to enamel (Fig. 398). Ibn Batutah, who came from Tangiers to Malaga about 1350, wrote in his account of his travels: "In this town they manufacture a beautiful kind of golden pottery which they export to the most distant countries." It was at Malaga, no doubt, that the Alhambra vase was made, the beauty of which almost rivals that of the Persian *kachis* of the thirteenth century (Fig. 382). The retaking of Malaga in 1487 did not interrupt the industry. The Moorish masters and workmen remained there, and transmitted their processes to the Christians.

The second centre of the manufacture was Majorca, whence were exported "such beautiful faences" says



FIG. 379.—NEF FOR TABLE.  
(Seo of Saragossa.)  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)



FIG. 380.—SO-CALLED CROWN OF SAINT FERDINAND.  
(Cathedral of Seville.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 381.—SO-CALLED CUP OF SAINT FERDINAND.  
(Cathedral of Seville.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

Cæsar Scaliger, "that the Italians preferred them to the finest pewter ware." They called them majolica, changing the *r* into *l* "per un certo vezzo di lingua." The workshops of Inca, a little town in the interior of Majorca, and of Iviça also enjoyed a great reputation. As in those of Malaga, traditional ornaments of an Oriental style were used and illegible characters, affecting

the forms of Arabic letters. The lustre has the red coppery tint of badly fired Persian faïences.

The pottery with metallic reflections of the kingdom of Valencia, as ancient as the above, are much less rare. They resemble those of Malaga. But in the fifteenth century the potters, in order to distinguish them, painted on them the eagle of Saint John, or inscribed them with verses from his gospel. In addition to Valencia, Biaz, Trayguera, Alaquaz, and Manises manufactured lustre-ware so renowned that Popes and Cardinals vied with one another to obtain it.

Nor must we forget Seville, whose workshops in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were still directed by Musulmans and the descendants of Musulmans: Ali, Hamet, Mahomad, Medina, etc.

*Woodwork.*—The door of Daroca (Fig. 383), and those door-leaves which are ornamented with the eight-rayed star and the cross in the Persian style, belong to this category. The latter, composed of little panels enclosed by battens and set in powerful frames, differ in no respect from the doors of Musulman Asia and Africa. The reliquary triptych of painted and gilded wood of the monastery of Piedra was given to it by the Abbot Don Martin de Ponce to contain a miraculous wafer. The extraordinarily delicate woodwork



FIG. 382.—THE ALHAMBRA VASE.  
(Alhambra, Granada.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

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combines Gothic arches with a stalactite cornice, and groups of eight-pointed stars and crosses which demonstrate the common origin of the architect, the decorator, and the painter of the inner panels (Figs. 357-359).

*Metallic facings.*—Doors faced with bronze were also an outcome of *Mudejar* art. The Door of Lions at the Cathedral of Toledo is decorated with geometrical designs, rectilinear and curvilinear, inscriptions in small Arabic characters, and Muslim castles (Fig. 384, cf. Figs. 300-302). On the lower part of one of the sides we read: *These doors were finished in the month of March of the year 1375, i.e., in the reign of Alonso X.* The facings of the door of Cordova Cathedral are decorated with the shield of Castille and Leon, alternating with Gothic and Arab inscriptions: *The Empire belongs to God, all is his; March 2 of the era of Cæsar, 1415 (1377 A.D.), in the reign of the most high and mighty Don Enrique, King of Castille (1369-1379).* Finally, the facing of the Puerta del Perdón (Cathedral of Seville) is ornamented with four-rayed stars and elongated hexagons enclosing an inscription in Arabic characters (Fig. 385).

Not only the decoration but also the construction of these door-leaves is Oriental. Their prototypes may be found in the bronze plates of the doors of the Acropolis at Susa (Dieulafoy Mission, Museum of the Louvre). At a later period, in Cairo, the doors of the Mosques



FIG. 383.—DOOR OF DAROCa.  
(Archæological Museum of Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 384.—DOOR OF THE LIONS.  
(Cathedral, Toledo.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 385.—PUERTA DEL PERDON.  
(Cathedral of Seville.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

meria and Granada, and of which Jaen was the capital. But after the capture of Cordova in 1236 and of Jaen in 1246 by Fernando III., Mohammed transferred the seat of government to Granada, offered



FIG. 386.—ALHAMBRA. ENTRANCE INTO THE HALL DE LOS MABAJADORES.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

of Saleh Telayé (thirteenth century), Barsbay (A.D. 1203), of Princess Tatar el Hidjazié (A.D. 1359), and in Persia those of the great Mosque of Ispahan—a masterpiece in *repoussé* silver—were protected and ornamented like the doors of Spanish Cathedrals.

As a result of the downfall of the throne of the Almohades, at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (July 16, 1212), Musulman Spain was rent by faction. Soon only two competitors remained in the field, Ibn Hûd and Mohammed ibn Yusuf ibn el Ahmar, of the tribe of the Beni Nasr. Ibn Hûd was assassinated, and Mohammed remained sole master of a kingdom which comprised Malaga, Al-

meria and Granada, and of which the Alhambra, which the Nasserids built and fortified as a residence for themselves, covers the summit of a hill which extends from east to west (726 metres by 179). Towards the north the Darro, and on the south the Genil bathes its base, and protects it.

The fortress as a whole comprises on the south and at the bottom of the hill the *Torres Bermejas* (Red Towers), mentioned as early as 864 A.D. under the name of *Medinet el Hamra* (the red city), and upon the plateau, the

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FIG. 387.—ALHAMBRA. CARVED STUCCOES.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Alcazaba and the Alhambra proper. The Alcazaba, the oldest part of the castle, occupies the western point. An outwork defends the projection, separated from the body of the fortress by a strong wall flanked with towers, among them the tower of La Vela. The Alcazaba shows close analogies with the famous Château Gaillard (1197–1198), built by Richard Cœur de Lion on the Seine above Rouen, in which the scientific principles of Oriental defence were applied for the first time in the West. There were no relations of any sort between the Musulman engineers of the Alcazaba and Richard Cœur de Lion, who, upon his return from the Holy Land, imitated the *karaks* of the Crusaders

in the Château Gaillard; but they were the disciples of masters brought up in the same traditions, and this they demonstrated by giving the Alcazaba and the Château Gaillard the same arrangements in general and in particular, and in multiplying, as if of set purpose, the same characteristic features. When the power of the Nasserids was consolidated, and after Yusuf I. (1335–1354) had built a palace outside the Alcazaba, the fortress of Mohammed became in its turn an outwork, and the main building extended over the whole plateau. In addition to the palace mentioned above, which extended along the north-east front, Yusuf completed the actual *enceinte*, including the Gate of Justice and the Gate of Wine. To his successor Mohammed V. (1354–1391) we owe the *Patio de los Arrayanes* (Myrtles), or *de la Alberca* (the Fountain), and the sumptuous palace of which the Court of Lions is the centre. Finally, the interior decoration of the Tower of the Infantes (south-western extremity of the north-east front), where the first traces of decadence manifest themselves, was begun under Mohammed



FIG. 388.—ALHAMBRA. TWIN CAPITALS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 389.—ALHAMBRA. PATIO DE LOS LEONES (COURT OF LIONS).  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

baicin and the valley of the Darro, into the hall of la Barca into the Patio de los Arrayanes. The decoration of carved stucco is polychrome. Red, white and gold predominate. Long inscriptions commemorate the founder. The Peinador de la Reina, which is above the tower next to that of Comares, rivals the Hall of the Ambassadors in beauty. The *Judiciaria* or Justice Tower (the ancient *Bab Charié* = Door of the Law), in which is the entrance, is massive and square, and projects strongly. It closes a funnel-like passage protected on the right by the Barba Tower and on the left by a round tower detached from the *enceinte*. This arrangement, which is common in Asiatic fortification, does not seem to have been peculiar to this building. It exists at any

VII. (1392–1408), the last Musulman prince who played a part in the building of the Alhambra.

The palace of Yusuf I. has been very badly treated. The whole of the west part has disappeared. Fortunately the marvellous hall *de los Embajadores*, the room called the *Peinador* or *Tocador de la Reina* (queen's dressing-room), the hall of the *Mihrab*, and the entrance still exist. The Hall of Ambassadors (Fig. 386)—eleven metres square, eighteen metres high—crowsn the Tower of Comares. It is covered by a cedar-wood dome, lighted by nine windows which overlook the city, the Al-



FIG. 390.—ALHAMBRA. PATIO DE LOS LEONES.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 391.—ALMOHADE. STANDARD.  
(Convent de las Huelgas, Burgos.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Arrayanes and the Patio de los Leones, with the Halls of the Abencerrajes on the south, of La Justicia or Los Reyes on the east, and de Las dos Hermanas (the two sisters) on the north, were fortunately spared.

The Patio de los Leones (Court of the Lions) is surrounded by porticoes with pierced tympana, and small, delicate columns crowned with capitals covered with scroll-work of exquisite subtlety. In the centre is the fountain, the stiff lions of which recall water-vessels in animal form (Fig. 183). In the interiors we admire the wood carving of the doors, the wainscots of geometrical porcelain mosaic (*alicatados*), the carved stuccoes which clothe the walls (Fig. 387), and the stalactite vaults, the elegance of which is beyond praise. Indeed, all the work left by Mohammed V. is noteworthy, but more especially the hall of Las dos Hermanas, perhaps the supreme expression of Moresque Andalusian art, and the three cupolas of the Hall of La Justicia hung

rate in Greece, at the Melangeia gate of Mantinea. On the façade of the Judiciaria Tower, beside an open hand, is the symbolic and as yet unexplained key, of which the plan of the Abbey Church of Batalha is a copy (Fig. 597). In the interior the tympanum of the Door of Justice, like that of the Door of Wine, is decorated with a marquetry of blue and green tiles, mixed, as in Persia, with lustreless bricks, and forming a very agreeable harmony.

Although Pedro Machuca, chosen by Charles V. to erect an Italian palace on the plateau of the Alhambra, made a wide breach in the palace of Mohammed V., it has suffered less than that of his predecessor. The

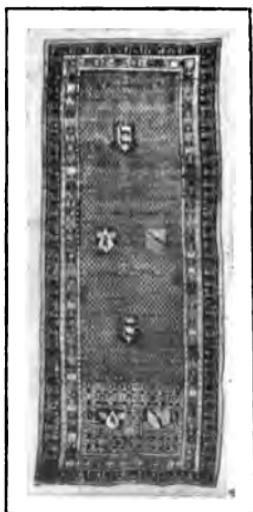


FIG. 392.—CARPET WITH THE  
ARMS OF MARINA DE AYALA  
AND FADRIQUE ENRIQUEZ.  
(1473.)  
(Spanish Art Galleries,  
London.)  
(Phot. The London Electro-  
type Agency.)

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with leather and decorated with paintings.

The polychromy of the carved stuccoes and the stalactites comprises vermillion, blue, white and gold, colours to which brown and black are discreetly added. This is the scale which reigns uninterrupted in Musulman buildings from the Indies to Spain (*sup.* pp. 29, 134), more vivid in the West, quieter and more fleecy in the East. We have noted it already in 1050, at the *Kalaa* of the Beni Hammad (*sup.* p. 195, Fig. 9). As to the colouring of the enamelled wainscot, it is that of Persian porcelain of the fourteenth century, when yellow ochre and brown were added to the blues and the white.

From the beginning of the Caliphate the Musulmans had represented human beings on ivories, woven materials, brasses and manuscripts (Figs. 176, 178, 181, 183, 184, 186). We know too that they lavished statues in the palace of Medinet ez Zahra, near Cordova. Subsequently, after their contact with Christians, they illuminated sacred books and painted and carved Christs, Virgins, and Saints (*sup.* pp. 81, 87, 150). There is therefore no reason to doubt that they painted the famous cupolas of the hall of La Justicia. There is, indeed, the more justification for ascribing them to Musulman or Mozarabian artists, in that the subjects represented—a deliberation of the Divan and a love-story—differ in style from contemporary works of the Spanish and Italian schools. If lingering doubts were entertained, they would be dissipated by the curious mural paintings of Koseir Amra (Fig. 68), and even more by the discovery in the Alhambra itself, in the Ladies' Tower,



FIG. 393.—CASKET IN EMBROIDERED LEATHER.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 394.—LAMP, PIERCED BRASS.  
(Archaeological Museum of  
Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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of incontestable Musulman frescoes—military processions and hunting scenes—hidden beneath a coat of plaster.

*Minor Arts.*—The minor arts of Musulman Spain are represented by porcelain, enamelled glass, jewels, coins, woven materials, embroideries, brasses, chased iron and weapons.

I have spoken of decorative porcelain in connection with the Alcazar at Seville and the Alhambra; and of painted porcelain and lustre-ware for domestic use in dealing with *Mudejar* art (*sup. p. 195*).

The enamelled glass, among the most beautiful specimens of which are mosque-lamps, is indistinguishable from that of other Musulman countries. There are a few jewels (Archæological Museum of Madrid) and coins without any strongly marked characteristics.

Among the materials manufactured in Musulman workshops in Spain (*cf. sup. pp. 88, 95, 126*) we may quote as examples the ornament of Bernard



FIG. 395.—POMMEL OF  
BOABDIL'S SWORD.  
(Marquis de Villaseca.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 396.—SHEATH OF  
BOABDIL'S SWORD.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

de Lacalle, Bishop of Bayonne (1188–1213) with an inscription in blue Cufic characters on a gold ground, and yellow arabesques (Cluny Museum, Paris), a number of damasks (diapers) in the Museum of Vich and the Guiu and Pasco Collections at Barcelona, the fine copes in the Cathedral of Lerida (thirteenth century), and some wonderful *Mudejar* carpets, in which the Cufic inscriptions of the borders are combined with the shields of Castille and Leon. Some of these were woven for the parents of their Catholic Majesties (Fig. 392). Foremost among the embroideries is the standard (Fig. 391) taken from the Almohades at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (July 16, 1212), and the garments of Boabdil (end of the fifteenth century). The banner is embroidered in blue, red, white and gold. The polychromatic scheme alone would make it a valuable document to be studied in conjunction with the



FIG. 397.—BOABDIL'S HELMET.  
(Armeria Real, Madrid.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

Hegira (A.D. 1305), astrolabes, and cabalistic instruments for wizards.

This mastery in the art of working metals is equally apparent in jewels and in weapons. Damascened work, delicate and dexterous chasing on solid gold, pure and beautiful translucent enamels and carved ivories adorn them. These weapons were made in Murcia, Seville, Granada and Toledo. Those in the Armeria Real and the Archaeological Museum of Madrid, the Duc de Luynes' Collection in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, and the collections of the Marquis de Villaseca and the Marquis de Campotejar come from Granada, where they were seized after the entry of their Catholic Majesties. Nearly all are supposed to have belonged to Boabdil. But, with the exception of the ordinary sword, the two-handed sword, and the dirk assigned to the ancestor of the Marquis de Villaseca in 1482 after the battle of Lucena, where he took Boabdil prisoner, they are all princely rather than royal weapons. The pommel and the ornaments of the sheath of Boabdil's sword (Figs. 395, 396) are of gold, relieved with blue, white, and red enamel. The handle is of carved ivory, and is decorated with a Cufic inscription: *God grant that you may attain your end the while he protects your life.* The pommel of the two-handed sword is of steel incrusted with ivory, with the device of the kings of Granada: *God alone is victor.* That of

paintings of the African palaces of the Hammadids (*sup.* pp. 195, 202; Fig. 9) and the Spanish palaces of the Nasserids. The embroideries on leather are no less praiseworthy than those on textiles (Fig. 393).

The worked brasses belong in general to the class of utensils in animal form (Fig. 183), and are for the most part damascened. Pierced brass-work was also produced in Spain, such as the lamp in the form of a double cone (Fig. 394) with the name of Mohammed III. (1302–1309), the builder of the mosque of the Alhambra, dated the year 705 of the

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the dirk is also of steel ornamented with carved ivory. The sheath, of crimson velvet embroidered in gold, is decorated with silver fillets in-crusted with green enamel.

The helmet in the Armeria Real (Fig. 397) is like the helmets worn in Europe, but it has no visor, and the crest is reduced to a semi-torus. It was probably surrounded by a steel net-work like Turkish and Persian helmets. The oblong guards placed in a semi-circle on the upper part, though used by the Musulmans, were not peculiar to them. To judge by the specimens we possess, they were made of wood covered with leather and of metal plates, often admirably worked. There are also some round shields, with a boss or a projecting point in the centre.



FIG. 398.—PORCELAIN WITH METALLIC REFLECTION.

(Archaeological Museum of Madrid.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 399.—LEON. PALACE OF DON JUAN QUIÑONES Y GUZMAN.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## CHAPTER VI

### THE RENAISSANCE

*Plateresque Period.—Religious Architecture.—Civil Architecture: Plateresque Architecture in Flanders, Germany and France.—Sculpture: Italian Influences.—Painting. The Golden Century.—Religious Architecture: the Escorial and the Seminary of Salamanca.—Civil Architecture: Town Halls.—National polychrome Sculpture: School of Valladolid; Schools of Seville and Granada.—Painting: Great Masters of the School of Seville.—The minor Arts; Iron and bronze objects; Woodwork; Goldsmith's work; Porcelain; Painted Glass.*

AFTER the death of Calixtus III. (1458) a Catalan goldsmith of great repute, Pedro Diéz, whom the Pope had summoned to Rome, returned to Spain and settled at Toledo. He entered the workshops of the Cathedral, and acquired such ascendancy there that Enrique de Egas, son of the master of the works, came entirely under his influence. Although he had been brought up by his father in the pure tradition of Flemish Gothic, he nevertheless built at Valladolid the College of Santa Cruz (1480-1492), in which the impress of the Italian Renaissance is very obvious. Thus we find a goldsmith, a *platero*, connected with the evolution of pointed

*Portrait of an unknown Lady.*  
PANTOJA DE LA CRUZ. (Madrid. Prado Museum.)







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architecture. Hence the term *Plateresco* applied in Spain to the elegant and individual style of the reigns of Joanna the Mad and Charles V. (1504-1558).

The transformation was very slow. Though it makes itself felt at Valladolid in the façade of San Pablo (Fig. 400), at Segovia in the porch of the convent church of Santa Cruz (Fig. 401), at Baeza in the archiepiscopal seminary, the great cathedrals designed at the beginning of the sixteenth century belong to the architectonic family of their predecessors. The long survival of Gothic is to be explained by the resistance the Spanish character has always offered to innovations. It is also to be referred

to the beauty of pointed buildings, and to their harmony with Christian sentiment. Even France built few churches in the

Renaissance style during the sixteenth century. Saint Maclou at Rouen and Saint Gervais in Paris are Gothic. Saint Michel at Dijon and Saint Eustache in Paris have, it is true, a decoration based on the classic orders, but their vaults are upheld by ramifying ribs and their stability is ensured by flying buttresses.

During the period of transition Spain was fortunate enough to possess great architects, some of them strangers, principally Flemings, but the greater number of them natives. Some of these are known to us; the names of others are associated with the buildings now to be described.

The new Cathedral of Salamanca



FIG. 400.—VALLADOLID. DOOR OF SAN PABLO.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 401.—SEGOVIA. DOOR OF SANTA CRUZ.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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was begun in 1513. The plans had been drawn in 1510 by Anton Egas and Alonso Rodriguez. Juan Gil de Hontañon was chosen as master of the works and Juan Campero as dresser. The three aisles and the transept were finished in 1558. In 1585, the funds being exhausted, the workshops were closed. Work was resumed in 1589, but first the Chapter held a consultation. The architects summoned, among them Juan de Herrera, the architect of the Escorial, advised that the church should be continued in the Gothic style. The cathedral, which crushes the city under its mighty mass, has three aisles and five bays, a transept, an ambulatory, chapels in the buttresses, and a lofty lantern over the crossing (Fig. 402). The ribbed vaults show a very elegant modification of the Angevine vault, which, introduced into England by the Plantagenets, was there diversified until it became characteristic of its architecture as early as the middle of the fourteenth century (Lichfield Cathedral, Lady Chapel at Ely, etc.). It may be supposed that Spain and Portugal, where the ramification of the ribs was, on the contrary, very discreetly employed, borrowed it from France towards the period of Louis XI. (1461-1483).

The old Cathedral of Segovia had been destroyed by the *comuneros* in 1520. When it was resolved to rebuild it, the Chapter chose as their architects Juan Gil de Hontañon and his son Rodrigo Gil, who had just completed the designs



FIG. 402.—JUAN GIL DE HONTAÑON.  
(Cathedral of Salamanca.)  
(Transept and crucero.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 403.—JUAN AND RODRIGO GIL DE HONTAÑON.  
(Cathedral of Segovia.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 404.—SEGOVIA. CATHEDRAL.  
CLOISTERS.  
(Author's Phot.)

Enrique de Egas had made his design in 1520, and the building was begun on March 25, 1523. The architect, who had just completed the College of Santa Cruz in the Plateresque style at Valladolid, did not venture to use it here. He wished to harmonise the Cathedral with the royal chapel, which was already built. And also he had been appointed master of the works at Toledo Cathedral as early as 1494, and he no doubt felt a sincere admiration for it. Both Christian and Musulman architects of this period made use of rhythmical geometric formulæ to give proportion to a design. The geometrical theme of the Cathedral of Toledo, due to Pedro Perez (see Petrus Petre, *sup.* p. 135), adopted by the Houtaños, and drawn out by Simon Garcia, an architect of Salamanca, to whom we owe it, is developed in a square made by taking the total length of

for the new Cathedral of Salamanca. The works undertaken in 1522 were finished about 1580 (Fig. 403). The great interest of the cathedral lies, not in its plan, nor in its arrangements, which repeat those of the Cathedral of Salamanca, but in its date, and in the rapidity of its execution, which prevented modification of the design. Hence it is, as it were, the seal set upon Gothic art in Spain. The cloisters of the old cathedral were replaced stone by stone in the new (Fig. 404).

In the religious domain the first manifestation of a new style took place at Granada, in the Cathedral of Santa Maria de la Encarnacion.

Enrique de Egas had made his design in 1520, and the building was begun on March 25, 1523. The architect, who had just completed the College of Santa Cruz in the Plateresque style at Valladolid, did not venture to use it here. He wished to harmonise the Cathedral with the royal chapel, which was already built. And also he had been appointed master of the works at Toledo Cathedral as early as 1494, and he no doubt felt a sincere admiration for it. Both Christian and Musulman architects of this period made use of rhythmical geometric formulæ to give proportion to a design. The geometrical theme of the Cathedral of Toledo, due to Pedro Perez (see Petrus Petre, *sup.* p. 135), adopted by the Houtaños, and drawn out by Simon Garcia, an architect of Salamanca, to whom we owe it, is developed in a square made by taking the total length of



FIG. 405.—ENRIQUE DE EGAS AND  
DIEGO DE SILOÉ. CATHEDRAL OF  
GRANADA. SIDE AISLES.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 406.—JAEN. CATHEDRAL.  
CRUCERO AND APSE.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Jaen followed the example set by Granada, and in their turn adopted the pseudo-classic style known as Græco-Roman in the rebuilding of their respective cathedrals (Fig. 406).

Religious architecture, as we have seen, did not linger in the Plateresque stage, but passed on rapidly, generally speaking, from Gothic to the sumptuous Græco-Roman inaugurated at Granada. The exceptions to be noted are the exquisite Obispo Chapel at Madrid, the Monastery church of Santo Tomás of Avila (1482-1493), the Plateresque choir and apse of the Cathedral of Cordova, the door of Santa Engracia of Saragossa (Fig. 407), that of Santa María Mayor of Calatayud (1528), the porch of the Cathedral of Astorga (Fig. 409), San Esteban of Salamanca, begun in 1524 on the plans of Juan de

the church as a side. It was naturally by this theme that Enrique de Egas was governed, modifying it only by changing the number of aisles from three to five. In 1525 the Chapter, who disapproved of the use of the Gothic style, and were displeased at the long absences of the architect, superseded him, and appointed Diego, son of Gil de Siloé, as his successor. The plan could not be modified—the only changes made were in the arrangements of the central chapel of the ambulatory—but the work was continued in the severe style of the pseudo-classic Renaissance (Fig. 405). Even the graces of the Plateresque style were banned.

The Chapters of Malaga and



FIG. 407.—SARAGOSSA. PORCH OF  
SANTA ENGRACIA.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 408.—SANTIAGO. CATHEDRAL. CLOISTERS.  
(Author's Phot.)

decoration only, for the arrangement upon squinches, and the star-plan of the ribs, could not be more purely Persian in style if the cupolas had been built at Ispahan or Bidjapur for the tomb of Mahmud. As a fact, the Plateresque style only became general in civil buildings, where it reigned to the glory of Spain. Its life was short, but, at least, it knew no decline. It died a violent death, condemned by Philip II., who wanted an architecture in harmony with his own gloomy mind.

*Civil Architecture.*—Roughly speaking, the characteristics of Plateresque are broken curves and counter-curves, the contrary flexures introduced by Musulman architects, the basket handle and the plat-band, all indicating a violent reaction against the stilted arches of the Gothic period; then shafts of columns turned like balusters, grooved or *Solomonic* (spiraled), sometimes plain, sometimes ornamented with sculpture, androcephalous medallions, and pierced balustrades. This last motive recalls the crested crowns of Gothic roofs, or rather, perhaps, the ornamental translation of courses of battlements in certain Musulman buildings, such

Alava, and by the same architect, the magnificent cloisters of the Cathedral of Santiago (Fig. 408), the largest in Spain—39 metres square—the construction of which lasted for nearly sixty years (1521–1580). Finally, we must also classify as Plateresque the domes of the Seo of Saragossa and of the Cathedral of Burgos (Figs. 267, 258).

This applies to the



FIG. 409.—ASTORGA. PORCH OF THE CATHEDRAL.  
(Author's Phot.)

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as the tombs of the necropolis of Kait Bey (Cairo, middle of the fifteenth century). Other features which give their individual charm to Plateresque façades are their varied arcades, their turrets (*torrejones*), the great scutcheons of ancient patrician dwellings, the corner windows and the finely wrought iron gratings which protect the openings of the lower storeys. As the style has very strongly marked local characteristics, I shall group the principal buildings according to their towns and provinces.

**Santiago.**—The Hospital de los Reyes was built by order of Isabella the Catholic by Enrique de Egas (beginning of the sixteenth century).

Its fine door, its elegant galleries, and charming cloisters bear witness to the versatility of the Plateresque artists, who combined the Gothic and Renaissance styles with unequalled grace (*sup. p. 206*).



FIG. 410.—MAHOMAT OF SEGOVIA.  
CASA DEL CORDÓN.  
(Burgos, Plaza de la Libertad.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 411.—BURGOS. DOOR WITH  
ARMORIAL BEARINGS.  
(Author's Phot.)

**Burgos.**—The ancient capital of Castille possesses magnificent examples of Plateresque buildings. The earliest, the *Casa del Cordón*, is the work of a Musulman architect, Mahomat of Segovia. It was built by Doña Mercia de Mendoza at the same time as the Chapel of the Condestable (Fig. 256, axial chapel of the ambulatory), while her husband, Don Pedro Hernandez de Velasco, was fighting against the Moors of Granada. The palace owes its name to the Cord (*Cordón*) of the Franciscans, which enframes the huge lintel of the central door. (Fig. 410.)

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FIG. 412.—BURGOS. CASA DE MIRANDA.  
PATIO.  
(Author's Phot.)

an idea of the dwelling of a rich gentleman in the sixteenth century. The external ornament of Calle Fernan Gonzalez, but the style is less capricious. The shields are set upright; the tympana have the medallion heads which were about to be introduced into architectonic decoration.

Salamanca.—Among the ancient patrician houses there are three which date from the end of the fifteenth century. One, the home of Saint Teresa, shows in the door-arch the huge voussoirs characteristic of civil architecture (*sup. p. 142*); the second, called without any apparent reason the house of Maria la Brava, is ashlarled in the same manner (Fig. 413). It is crowned by a delicate entab-

Nos. 27 and 57 of Calle Fernan Gonzalez are two houses, one of which (No. 27) is known as *La Casa de los Cubos* (the house of the round towers). The doors and windows on which chimæras, dragons, and grotesques sport amidst flowers and foliage; the cornice, the pilasters, the balustrades, and the oblique shields are marked by artistic elegance and perfect taste (Fig. 411).

In the *barrio* (quarter) of La Vega there is a charming house known as the *Casa de Miranda* (Fig. 412). The exterior door, the window above it, the *patio*, the inner door, and the staircase, which is still standing, give us



FIG. 413.—AVILA. HOUSE OF MARIA  
LA BRAVA.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 414.—SALAMANCA. MONTEREY  
PALACE.  
(Author's Phot.)

the angles and one in each façade. The long, blank walls, or rather curtains, the upper gallery, the last development of the casemated covered way, the crenelated balustrade, and the heraldic shields hung on the projections of the towers, are survivals from the old feudal castle.

The *Casa de las Conchas*, which takes its name from the conch shells with which the façade is studded, was built at the beginning

of the sixteenth century, although the rich decoration of the door, windows, and balconies, and the working of the grilles over the lower windows are more characteristic of the close of the fifteenth century (Fig. 416). In the interior attention is attracted by a fine staircase covered with a ceiling of painted wood in the *Mudejar* style, and by a *patio* with



FIG. 415.—SALAMANCA. CASA DE LAS CONCHAS.  
PATIO.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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pointed arches describing curves of contrary flexure, and balconies of pierced stonework (Fig. 415). These arches, ancient in the Seljuk architecture of Konieh, and used to excess in Portuguese Manuelian, also occur in the *patio* of the University (Fig. 417), which is itself a very fine specimen of Plateresque (Figs. 418, 419).

The *Casa del la Sal* is noticeable on the outside for the arcade of the ground floor and for its beautiful windows. In the interior, immense triangular consoles decorated on the hypotenuse with two rows of monsters, recall the vigorous style of Michelangelo's school (Fig. 421).

Pedro Ibarre was the architect, and Berruguete the sculptor (*inf. p. 225-227*), to whom Alonso Fonseca II., Archbishop of Toledo, addressed himself when he determined to build the fine College of Santiago Apostol at Salamanca. The *patio*, which forms the most interesting feature of the college, consists of two storeys of arcades on columns and pilasters admirably pure in style (Fig. 420). There is throughout as it were an echo of the works of Bramante, and more especially of the cloisters of Santa Maria della Pace.

Valladolid.—The College of San Gregorio belongs to the category of proto-Manuelian buildings (Fig. 422). This classification is confirmed by the statement of Cean Bermudez that the architect, Macias Carpintero, cut his throat in July, 1490, before the completion of the work. The date of this event would prove, were the fact contested, that the



FIG. 416.—SALAMANCA. CASA DE LAS CONCHAS.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 417.—SALAMANCA. UNIVERSITY. PATIO.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 418.—SALAMANCA. UNIVERSITY.  
INNER WINDOWS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

side (Fig. 539). The façade, which is overloaded with medallions, ornamental sculpture, mouldings and arches of every kind, has a clearly defined horse-shoe arch struck from a single centre over the central door. This is perhaps the last western manifestation of this curve. The sacristy (Fig. 424), which differs altogether from the façade, is an exquisite piece of work, in which the artist has rejuvenated the theme of the Obispo Chapel (*sup.* p. 210).

While he was engaged on San Marcos, Juan de Badajoz was commissioned to restore the cloisters of the cathedral (Fig. 423). It is impossible to speak too warmly of the talent he showed in harmonising the Gothic style of the building with his Plateresque renovations.

The palace built in 1560 for Don Juan Quenoñas y Guzman at the angle of the Plaza San Marcelo (Figs. 399, 425) belongs to the concluding period of this architecture.

building was undertaken before the first manifestation of Portuguese Plateresque (*inf.* p. 317-320).

The palace in which Philip II. was born is a massive building, of no interest save such as it owes to this event, and to a solitary, but very graceful corner window which breaks the monotony of its blank walls.

Leon.—The monastery of San Marcos, rebuilt between 1514 and 1549 by Juan de Badajoz, is a quadrangular building adjoining its church on one



FIG. 419.—SALAMANCA. DOOR  
OF THE UNIVERSITY.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 420.—PEDRO IBARRA. PATIO OF THE COLLEGE OF SANTIAGO APOSTOL (SALAMANCA).

(Phot. Lacoste.)

resembles the Casa del Cordon at Burgos (Fig. 410). The other, on the Plaza de los Momos, is more akin to the old palaces of Salamanca. The decoration of the door recalls the house of Maria la Brava (Fig. 413), that of the windows, the Casa de la Conchas (Fig. 416).

Avila.—The city of Saint Teresa is rich in sombre and austere houses, with 'plain blank walls. There is little to interest the architect save the fine cloisters of Santo Tomás.

Segovia.—The Plateresque style is represented by two historic houses: the Casa de los Picos (the house of the Points), where the *Corregidor* took up his abode in time of war and where the town council met to receive royal persons when they came to Segovia, and the house of the illustrious Com-

It is rectangular in plan, with a central *patio*, *torrejones* at the angles, and an attic gallery on the façade towards the Plaza. A tendency to multiply the windows on the exterior proclaims itself. But this must not mislead us; here, as in the Italian palaces of the fifteenth century, the windows in the façade on the ground-floor lighted the rooms of officials, and those on the upper floor those of the servants, while the apartments of the first floor, reserved for the master and his family, still looked into the inner court.

Zamora.—This city, which is rich in religious buildings, has only two interesting palaces. They date from the beginning of the sixteenth century. One, which is very simple,



FIG. 421.—SALAMANCA. CASA DE LA SAL. CONSOLES OF THE PATIO.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

unero, Juan Bravo, beheaded April 24, 1521 (Fig. 427). With its attic gallery, its depressed arches describing curves of contrary flexure, the heavy voussoirs of its doorway, its heraldic shield, it is a perfect specimen of those blind buildings (cf. Figs. 413, 426), the inhabitants of which could only venture to look into the street from an upper gallery.

Toledo.—Like the senior College of Santa Cruz at Valladolid and the College of Santiago at Salamanca—of a later date—the Hospital of Santa Cruz was founded by Cardinal de Mendoza. In plan it is a square enclosing a Maltese cross. In the original arrangement the four arms formed as many aisles, at the crossing of which stood the altar. The most characteristic feature as regards style is the doorway of marble and *piedra blanca de la Rosa* (Fig. 428). The architecture, the proportions, and the ornaments are Italian, while the embrasure and the archivolt are decorated with statuettes arranged in the Gothic manner. The same style appears in the carved crest attached to the second member of the archivolt.



FIG. 422.—VALLADOLID. COLLEGE OF SAN GREGORIO.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 423.—JUAN DE BADAIOZ. CLOISTERS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF LEON.

(Author's Phot.)

Saragossa.—Plateresque architecture takes on a special character here, due to the prolonged favour enjoyed by the *Mudejar* arts, and the general use of brick. Strongly projecting cornices, which could not be constructed of small materials, are replaced by overhanging pent-houses. Those of the palace of Count d'Argillo (Fig. 429), of the palace of

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FIG. 424.—JUAN DE BADAJOZ. SACRISTY OF SAN MARCOS. (LEON.)  
(Author's Phot.)

the Catholic rebuilt partially. The admirably preserved wooden ceilings are *Mudejar* in design, Gothic in the inscription of the cornice, and *Plateresque* in the profiles of the mouldings and the carved and painted ornament.

Valencia.—The *Audiencia* (1510) is heavy and massive as a donjon of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the interior is extremely rich. The *Salon dorado* or hall of the Cortes, in particular, looks like a fragment from the palace of the Doges (Fig. 430). The ceiling with its great coffers and pendant bosses rests on an elegant gallery by the intermediary of a cornice and twin arches of the *ajimeces* type. The consoles which support the gallery, the balustrade, the small columns, the arches, the cornice, all of wood like the coffers, are like

Luna, and of the *Lonja* (Exchange) are veritable works of art, in which we recognise alike the style of the Florentine palaces of Brunellesco, and also the *imprimatur* of the Musulman joiners.

The *Lonja*, an excellent type of the brick building, is very simple in appearance, and has but a few windows and three very large doors. These latter open into an imposing hall, the vaults of which recall the last period of Gothic (Fig. 431). The ribs rest upon a double row of Ionic columns, and are gathered at their springing into a sheath ornamented with heraldic shields and cupids.

A totally different note is struck in the *Aljaferia*, which Ferdinand



FIG. 425.—PALACE OF THE GUZMANS.  
(See Fig. 399.) CORNER WINDOWS.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 426.—SEGOVIA. CASA DE LOS  
PICOS.  
(Author's Phot.)

French Renaissance (1534–1572). Like Pierre Lescot, Jean Goujon and Philibert Delorme, Diego de Riaño is concerned with symmetry, and has recourse to superposed orders: pseudo-Ionic pilasters on the ground-floor and Corinthian columns in the first storey; he shows a preference for high stylobates, and for mouldings with strongly projecting profiles.

Miscellaneous buildings.—Fine buildings in the Plateresque style are so numerous that we have been obliged to restrict our descriptions to those which best characterise its multiple aspects. There are a few others which claim at least a passing mention: at Barcelona the Palace of the Counts and the staircase of the Dalmases Palace; at Siguenza, the palace of the Marquises de Arce; in the palace of the Alcalá de Henares, the windows of the ground floor (Fig. 433); at Estella, in the Rua de San Pedro, several houses, ranging in date from the fifteenth to

these, covered with excellent carvings in the Italian style. Below the gallery there are some varnished frescoes representing the Assembly of the States, and dated 1592. The majority are by Peralta and Cristóbal Zariñena. That which is devoted to the *Bras Militar* is signed F. R. F. These letters are thought to stand for *Francisco Ribalta fecit*.

Seville.—The *Ayuntamiento* (Town Hall), built from the designs of Diego di Riaño, master of works at the Cathedral (1526–1564), is unhappily unfinished. The façade towards the Plaza de la Constitución (Fig. 432) deserves to rank with the best work of the second

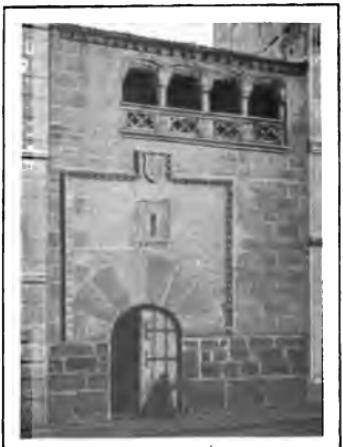


FIG. 427.—SEGOVIA. HOUSE OF JUAN  
BRAVO.  
(Author's Phot.)

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the sixteenth century; at Ciudad Rodrigo a curious corner door (Fig. 434); at Merida, a Roman temple transformed into a dwelling house towards the middle of the sixteenth century; and everywhere, houses on arcades, with armorial bearings (Fig. 435).

The Plateresque arts were not confined to Spain. Portugal had adopted them by the end of the fifteenth century. Charles V. transported them into German territory. Their influence is recognisable in the castles of Schalburg and Heidelberg. The additions made by the North to the style were the steep roofs which throw off the snow, and the gables of the old mediæval houses. The Spanish Renaissance penetrated into Flanders in the wake of the great Emperor, and left its mark notably in the town-halls of Leyden and Antwerp and the palace of Mechlin.

In France, Plateresque influences are apparent at Besançon, in the decorations of the palace of Granvelle, and in the architecture of the South from Roussillon to the Gulf of Gascony. At Toulouse, for instance, Aimery Cayla and the Picarts undertook to build for Juan de Bernuy,



FIG. 428.—TOLEDO, HOSPITAL OF  
SANTA CRUZ.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 429.—SARAGOSSA. ARGILLO PALACE.

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inspired by the architecture of Salamanca. And yet the Hôtel d'Assézat is the work of a pupil of Michelangelo's, Nicolas Bachelier (1485-1570), who was one of the great artistic figures of the Renaissance. In spite of his education, he had succumbed to the charm of Spanish architecture.

Houses which were the homes of great families in the reign of Philip II. and his successors are often inhabited at present by workmen, or occupied as workshops and warehouses. New windows have been pierced in them, the upper galleries have been enclosed or demolished, ceilings have been substituted for the *artesonados*, partitions have been multiplied, the walls plastered over. The result is that we can glean little information from the interiors. But the *patio* still remains the obvious centre and the point of departure of all divisions. On the other hand, straight flights of stairs assume unaccustomed dimensions. The vault is rarely used in civil architecture. *Patios* and even cloisters receive floorings upon visible beams. The richness of carved, painted, and gilded soffits seems to increase. Hinges, door-nails, gratings over windows, balconies, lanterns of forged and chased iron, are veritable works of art. Leather, damask, tapestry, and porcelain remained in favour in rich dwellings, where they harmonised with the architecture.



FIG. 431.—SARAGOSSA. LONJA.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 430.—VALENCIA. AUDIENCIA.  
SALÓN DORADO.  
(Phot. Lévy.)

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tendencies noted in the tomb of Juan de Padilla. Like Isabella's page, this young hero met his death in one of the numerous skirmishes which preceded the taking of Granada. He is represented half recumbent, his elbow on a sheaf of laurels, a book in his hand (Fig. 436). The only Spanish sculptor to whom it is possible to attribute this tomb, if we take into account the date when it was erected, the fine Florentine style of the figure, and the Plateresque quality of the decoration, is the Valencian, Damian Forment. He was one of the first of those who frequented the Italian workshops. But if Donatello inspired his figures, he remained faithful to the old national traditions in the design, the architecture, and the painting of his religious works. Forment, who was related to the schools of the North, since Aragon was his artistic fatherland, has left us four altar-pieces, in addition to those of Barbastro and Poblet, in which he is supposed to have collaborated. Any one of these would suffice to make him famous. The earliest, that of Nuestra Señora del Pilar at Saragossa, was begun in 1509, and finished six years later. The composition is simple, the execution incomparable. The reredos of San Pablo, also at Saragossa, and that of the famous Abbey of Monte Aragon, now in the parish church annexed to the Cathedral of Huesca, was undertaken between 1516 and 1520. Finally, on September 10, 1520, Forment began the reredos of the Cathedral of Huesca, the execution of which absorbed the last thirteen years of his life.

The first artist who was conquered by Italy was a Burgos sculptor of French



FIG. 432.—DIEGO DE RIAÑO. HÔTEL DE VILLE (SEVILLE).  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 433.—ALCALÁ DE HENARES.  
WINDOW OF PALACE.  
(Author's Phot.)

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origin. Philippe de Bourgogne, known in Spain by the name of Felipe de Vigarni, was chosen by Cardinal Cisneros to design the reredos for Toledo Cathedral (1501). He had not up to this point deviated from the path his masters had marked out for him, and when, in conjunction with Peti Juan (a Frenchman), Alfonso Sanchez, Sebastian de Almonacid, Diego Copin de Holanda, and seventeen other famous sculptors, he undertook the reredos, he proceeded to carry it out in larch wood in the Gothic style. It is divided into five registers, each in compartments which represent episodes in the lives of Christ and the Virgin. It is surmounted by an immense Calvary, and contains a multitude of niches, consoles and pinnacles, which shelter or support a world of saints and prophets.

About 1506, soon after the completion of this colossal work, Felipe executed the *Tras-Sagrario* alabaster bas-reliefs for the high altar in Burgos Cathedral (Fig. 437). The master's artistic evolution reveals itself here.

The reredos of the Chapel Royal adjoining Granada Cathedral, which Felipe de Borgoña began in 1520, has a predella with four curious bas-reliefs relating to the surrender of the city to their Catholic Majesties, and the baptism of its inhabitants. There are some good statues in the upper registers. It was conceived and treated in the style of the Italian Renaissance several years before Forment signed the last masterpiece of Gothic art at Huesca. This fact



FIG. 435.—SANTIAGO, HOUSES UPON ARCHES.

(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 434.—CIUDAD RODRIGO, CORNER DOOR WITH SCUTCHEON.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 436.—DAMIÁN FORMENT. TOMB OF MARTÍN VASQUEZ DE ARCE.  
(Cathedral of Sigüenza.)  
(Author's Phot.)

Domenico Fancelli, but death had prevented him from completing it. Bartolomé Ordoñez assimilated the manner of the Italian master so perfectly that he has long been deprived of the authorship of two fine sepulchral monuments in the Chapel Royal of Granada. That on the Gospel side commemorates Ferdinand and Isabella; the other, Philip the Fair and Joanna the Mad.

The great artist who most perfectly reconciled Spanish genius with the teachings of Florentine and Roman studios was Alonso Berruguete (Paredes de Nava, 1480–1561). He was the son of Pedro Berruguete, the king's painter, and received his first lessons from his father. After Pedro's death he went to Italy (about 1502), where he worked with Michelangelo, Bramante, and

alone would make it interesting. At the foot of the reredos are polychrome statues of Ferdinand and Isabella (Fig. 438), also of the greatest value, because they were modelled immediately after their deaths and from their best portraits. When Navagero visited the Chapel Royal in 1526, he saw them in the places they still occupy.

A few years before the period when Philippe de Bourgogne began the Granada reredos, a Catalan, Bartolomé Ordoñez (d. 1520), several of whose works are in Barcelona Cathedral, went to Genoa to carve the marble tomb of Cardinal Ximenes (Cathedral of Alcalá de Henares). It had been designed by the Florentine



FIG. 437.—FELIPE DE VIGARNI.  
THE CRUCIFIXION.  
(Cathedral of Burgos.)  
(Phot. Lévy.)

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FIG. 438.—ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC.  
(Chapel Royal of Granada.)  
(Phot. Garzon.)

draperies in which burnished gold, without damascening or guilloches, predominates. Here Berruguete differs from his predecessors, who loved to carve figures clad in richly worked materials.



FIG. 439.—ALONSO BERRUGUETE.  
TOMB OF THE COUNTS OF SALINAS.  
(Cathedral of Palencia.)  
(Author's Phot.)

Raphael. In 1520 he returned to his native land, whither his fame had preceded him.

Berruguete had great skill in the carving of marble, and he also excelled in carving and painting wood. His line is correct and pure, his modelling accomplished, his style noble and expressive. Nevertheless, when the artist gives way to his temperament, his long figures, distinguished and interesting though they always are, betray in their swelling muscles and contorted attitudes the great disciple of a great artist exaggerating his master's qualities. His polychromy is simple and vigorous. He attacked the nude boldly; the fine tones of the carnations are contrasted with

Among the numerous marble tombs due to Berruguete, critics generally select that of Cardinal Don Juan de Tavera (Toledo, Hospital de Afuera) for praise. I greatly prefer the tomb of the Count and Countess de Salinas (Fig. 439), which has the correctness, the richness, the solemnity, and, in some respects, the pagan character of the monument executed by Giovanni Merlino da Nola for Don Ramon de Cardona, Viceroy of Sicily, and his wife, Doña Isabel (Church of Bellpuig).

Berruguete's powers are more characteristically displayed in his wood-carvings, notably in the choir-stalls

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of Toledo Cathedral (1535), executed in collaboration with Felipe da Borgoña. But the most individual of all his works are those polychrome wooden statues and groups, the jetsam of the shipwreck in

which most of his great altar-pieces

perished at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Fig. 440).

The *Holy Sepulchre* of San Jerónimo at Granada also gives an excellent idea of Berruguete's art (Fig. 441). This was at one time assigned by critics to Michelangelo's rival, the Italian Pietro Torrigiani, and subsequently to Gaspar Beccera. A careful examination of the figures, a comparison of the style with that of authentic statues in the Museum of Valladolid, the general aspect no less than the details, all

FIG. 440.—A. BERRUGUETE, SAINT SEBASTIAN, REREDOS OF SAN BENITO EL REAL.

(Museum of Valladolid.)  
(Author's Phot.)

confirm an attribution which is no longer contested. The composition recalls that of the French *Holy Sepulchres* which make a first appearance in 1370 on the altar panel of Charles V. (The Louvre). The hospital at Tonnerre has an example dating from 1453.

San Jerónimo, which the Spanish sovereigns assigned for the burial-



FIG. 441.—BERRUGUETE, HOLY SEPULCHRE.

(San Jerónimo, Granada.)  
(Author's Phot.)

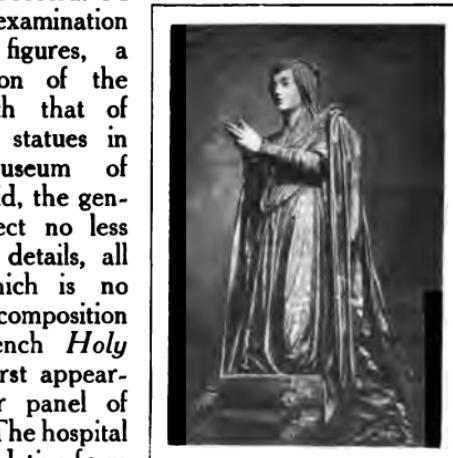


FIG. 442.—DIEGO DE SILEOÉ.

MARIA MANRIQUE.  
(San Jerónimo, Granada.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 443.—DIEGO DE SILOÉ. FRAGMENT OF THE REREDOS OF SAN JERÓNIMO.  
(Author's Phot.)

sculptors, Juan de Aragon, Pedro Orca, and Domingo de Navas, carved the figures and ornaments which Pedro de Raxis gilded and painted in various colours (Fig. 443). One of the bas-reliefs shows the artist painting the reredos. The rectangular palette he holds in his hand has a hollow at each corner into which he dipped his brush to compose the tint he was preparing. One of the hollows is filled with white; the others contain yellow ochre, reddish-brown, and indigo. These were the colours used in the decoration and painting of the Romanesque churches, and were long the only ones employed by the Spanish polychromists.

Among the imitators of Berruguete was Andres de Najera, the author of the choir-stalls of San

place of the Gran Capitán, Gonzalvo de Cordova (1443–1515), was built and decorated by artists of the Northern Schools. Its architect, Diego de Siloé (*sup. p. 210*), enjoyed a reputation as a sculptor equal to his renown as an architect, and after building the church, he was further commissioned to execute the very beautiful *Virgin*, the reredos of the high altar, and also, no doubt, the praying statues of Gonzalvo and of his wife, Maria Manrique, Duchess of Terranova y Sesa (Fig. 442). This was a very considerable work, which he could not have undertaken without the help of numerous collaborators. The licentiate Velasco composed the reredos from the master's designs; Pedro de Uceda modelled the figures; the



FIG. 444.—ANDRÉS DE NAJERA. SAINT JOHN. STALLS OF SAN BENITO EL REAL.  
(Museum of Valladolid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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Benito (Fig. 444); Gaspar de Tordesillas, to whom we owe the reredos of San Antonio Abad (Museum of Valladolid); Tudedilla, who decorated the choir-screen of the Seo of Saragossa; Juan Rodriguez and Geronimo Pellerier, who pro-



FIG. 446.—DIEGO DE SOLIS.  
THE TEMPTATION.  
(Choir Stalls of the Cathedral of Orense.)  
(Author's Phot.)

on his return to Spain (1561) Becerra worked first at the decoration of the Prado; then he painted the Alcazar of Madrid in fresco, and carved the reredos of the Convent of Las Decalzas Reales in the same city for the Infanta Doña Maria. He also carved the statue of *Nuestra Senora de*



FIG. 445.—GASPAR BECERRA. MATERNITY.  
REREDOS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ASTORGA.  
(Author's Phot.)

duced the reredos of the church of the Parral in collaboration. But the veritable rival and successor of the master of Paredes was Gaspar Becerra (Baeza, 1520; Madrid, 1571). Did he too frequent Michelangelo's studio during his sojourn in Italy? It has been asserted, and his works would seem to support the contention, although Vasari, who had him as a pupil, does not include him among the disciples of the great Florentine. Appointed painter and sculptor to Philip II.



FIG. 447.—FRANCISCO GIRALTE. MOSES  
BIDDING THE SUN STAND STILL.  
(Door of the Obispo Chapel Madrid.)

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*la Solitud* for the Queen, Doña Isabel de la Paz. The magnificent reredos of the Cathedral of Astorga was his last work (Fig. 445).

Francisco Giralte, who carved the reredos and, no doubt, the fine door of the Obispo Chapel at Madrid (Fig. 447), and Diego de Solis, to whom the choir-stalls in the Cathedral of Orense (Fig. 446) are attributed, also shed lustre on Spanish sculpture.

After bringing about the transformation of the northern schools, Italy went on to triumph in Andalusia. The way was prepared for this evolution by various artists, such as Nicoluso Pisano and Miguel called "the Florentine," but it was above all the work of Michelangelo's famous rival and co-disciple, Pietro Torrigiani, known in Spain as Pedro Torrigiano (Florence, 1470; Seville, 1522).

Torrigiano is represented in Andalusia by a *Penitent Saint Jerome* (Fig. 448), and a *Virgin* in the Museum (Fig. 449), by another *Saint Jerome* in the Church of Santa Ana at Granada, and by a few marble medallions.

The statues are polychrome, and of terra-cotta. These examples show how artificial was the revolt against painted sculpture which took place in Italy towards the time of Torrigiano, since no sooner did artists leave their own country than they readily associated colour with form. Goya considered the *Penitent Saint Jerome* the masterpiece of modern sculpture.

This is an exaggerated estimate, for even in Seville itself there are works by Montañés which will bear comparison with it (cf. Fig. 465). The Virgin wears garments of plain material, very different to the damasks in vogue at this



FIG. 448.—TORRIGIANO. SAINT JEROME.  
(Museum of Seville.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 449.—TORRIGIANO. VIRGIN AND CHILD.  
(Museum of Seville.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 450.—JUAN DE JUANES.  
“ECCE HOMO.”  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

period. From the point of view of modelling, I may note the accentuation of feminine forms, the saints and virgins which express Spanish sentiment being distinguished by a more ideal beauty.

The heads of the school of painting contemporary with the Plateresque period of architecture, Hernando de Llanos and Hernando de Yáñez de la Almedina, were natives of La Mancha. On March 1, 1502, they received the order for the wooden shutters destined for the silver reredos—now melted down—which stood over the high altar of the Cathedral of Valencia. Each shutter has on either side three

superposed pictures. The work is vigorous, powerful in colour and of great charm. Yáñez is more scientific than his collaborator; Llanos, more faithful to national tradition. Both were the disciples of masters of the school of Perugino and Leonardo da Vinci. The unforgettable smile of La Gioconda illuminates the women's faces.

Llanos' favourite pupil was Vicente Macip. His pictures, which betray an attempt to imitate Raphael, are full of a religious feeling which is their chief merit. This feeling is even more strongly expressed by his son, Juan de Juanes (Fuente la Higuera, 1507?—Bocairente, 1579), a conscientious artist, of marked individuality, to whom criticism has not always done justice. A sojourn in Italy, during which he is said to have benefited by the counsels of Giulio Romano, was profitable to him, but did not weaken his originality. Heads of Christ studied with much tenderness and



FIG. 451.—LUIS DE VARGAS.  
ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS.  
(Central part of the Altarpiece in the Chapel of the Nacimiento, Seville.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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piety were his speciality (Fig. 450). In his excellent portraits he recalls Bronzino.

Although Luis de Vargas (1502-1568), like Juan de Juanes, was an off-shoot of the school of Raphael, there are notable differences between the two masters. They are mainly due to the fact that Luis de Vargas was less tenacious of his own personality than Juanes. His famous picture known as *La Gamba* in Seville Cathedral, which represents the temporal genealogy of Christ, is an Italian work, correct, and warm and golden in colour, but monotonously light; convention too often takes the place of emotion in this work. Luis de Vargas is also the author of an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Fig. 451) and of a *Pietà*, showing all the qualities and



FIG. 452.—JUAN DE HERRERA. ROYAL MONASTERY OF SAN LORENZO.  
(El Escorial.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

defects of *La Gamba* and of a *Last Judgment* (Convent of La Misericordia, Seville), of which only some vestiges remain. His somewhat conventional distinction and academic correctness were common to all the Valencian and Andalusian painters of the time of Vargas. They gave no presage of the approaching rise of a glorious school. The period was at hand when Plateresque architecture was to lose its special character and to approximate to Italian pseudo-classic; while painting and sculpture, on the other hand, breaking the bonds which held them captive, were to draw their inspiration only from nature, and to acknowledge only the supremacy of the national genius. This epoch is the one Spain isolates and glorifies as the Golden Century.

The Golden Century comprises the period which begins in 1560 and lasts till the end of the seventeenth century. It is like a precious

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diadem encrusted with the rarest jewels of Spanish genius: Fray Luis de Leon, Cervantes, Guillen de Castro, Lope de Vega, and Calderon in literature; Murillo and Velazquez in painting; Juan de Juni, Gregorio Fernandez, and Montañes in sculpture; Morales and Salinas in music. Architecture alone declined. For it, the Golden Century was only the century of the Escorial (Figs. 452, 453).

Begun in 1563 by Juan Bautista of Toledo, and finished in 1584 by Juan de Herrera, the royal monastery of San Lorenzo weighs, a melancholy mass of granite, upon the period, the final manifestation of which, at Saragossa, was Nuestra Señora del Pilar (Fig. 527). It was founded by Philip II. in fulfilment of a vow made during the siege of Saint-Quentin to Saint Lawrence, whose church he had bombarded. The building was accordingly given the form of a gridiron, to recall the instrument of the Saint's martyrdom. The handle is represented by the palace, and the feet by four towers 55 metres high.

The *Patio de los Reyes*, which the visitor enters first, is bordered on two sides by columns. At the end rises the façade of the church; it is approached by a flight of wide steps, and adorned with six Doric columns supporting colossal statues of the kings of Judah. The general effect is grey, austere, and constricted.

The church, the arrangement



FIG. 453.—CHURCH OF THE ESCORIAL.  
NAVE AND APSE.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 454.—JUAN GOMEZ DE MORA.  
DIOCESAN SEMINARY.  
(Salamanca.) (Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 455.—JUAN DE HERRERA.  
HOUSE OF JOSÉ DE LA CALLE.  
(Plasencia.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

of which was copied from that of St. Peter's at Rome at a time when the Greek cross had been brought into favour by Peruzzi and Michelangelo, is treated in the same spirit as the façades (Fig. 453), with the exception of the Capilla Mayor. The reredos, some 30 metres high, is the work of Giacomo Trezzo of Milan. It is a classical monument of superposed orders, constructed of coloured marble covered with gilded ornaments, peopled with colossal bronze statues, and adorned with paintings by Pellegrino Tibaldi and Francisco Zuccaro. Right and left are oratories, also adorned with a profusion of marbles and gilding, and containing two famous groups, modelled and cast in bronze by Pompeo Leoni (*inf. p. 241*) ; on the Gospel side, Charles V. and his family ; on the Epistle side, Philip II. and his. On this same side there is also a kind of window, where Philip II. attended the services without quitting the chair to which he was confined by gout.

The royal vault was built by Crescenzi in the seventeenth century. The staircase, the *Pudridero* in which the royal corpses lay for five years, and the octagonal chamber into which they were brought after this term, are excessively rich. The entrance occupies one of the sides of the octagon, and the altar the one opposite. On the other six are four rows of niches, each containing a cippus of antique form bearing in a cartouche the name of the monarch interred.

Although it was directly opposed to the artistic genius of Spain, the cold



FIG. 456.—ASTORGA. TOWN HALL.  
(Author's Phot.)

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and naked architecture of the Escorial enjoyed half a century of favour. The severity of the style was even increased in the Cathedral of the Asunción at Valladolid, begun in 1585 by Juan de Herrera on such a colossal scale that it was never finished, and in the Church of the Incarnación, built at Madrid by Juan Gómez de Mora.

A humanising influence makes itself felt in architecture in the immense Diocesan Seminary, or *Seminario Conciliar*, designed by this same Juan Gómez de Mora for the Jesuits, the first stone of which was laid in the reign of Philip III. (1598–1621), Nov. 12, 1617. It is true that, as the work went on for 139 years, each storey reflects the taste of the age in which it was built (Fig. 454). The pediment with its sinuous frame, the Assumption of the Virgin in the centre, and a colossal St. Ignatius above, is lavishly ornamented. But the lateral belfries, the central dome, the buttresses and pinnacles, grandiose in themselves, are even more richly adorned. The church is a Latin cross with three aisles. The aisles are divided from the nave by four fine arches, corresponding to four lateral chapels. An entablature of the Doric order with metopes, triglyphs, and a projecting cornice supports the barrel vault. Above each chapel is a balcony which is continued along



FIG. 457.—TOLEDO. CATHEDRAL. CHAPTER HOUSE, AFTER MADRAZO.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 458.—JUAN DE JUNI. DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.  
(Cathedral of Segovia.) (Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 459.—JUAN DE JUNI. THE VIRGIN OF THE SWORDS.

(Church of Las Angustias, Valladolid.)  
(Author's Phot.)

of the *Lonja* at Seville (1583)—to the Plaza Mayor at Madrid, the porticoed houses of which were, however, executed from the plans of Juan Gomez de Mora in the reign of Philip III.

It was not until the end of the fifteenth century that the first *Casas Consistoriales* or *Ayuntamientos* (town-halls) were built. Down to this period the ordinary meetings of the municipal bodies took place at the house of the *Alcade Mayor*, and their solemn assemblies before the porch or in the cloisters of the cathedral.

Seville, Granada, Cadiz and Ciudad Rodrigo have Plateresque town-halls suitable to their importance, but of no very distinctive character.

the transept and the choir. The octagonal dome rests upon pendentives decorated with immense shields bearing the arms of Spain.

The reign of Philip IV. (1621—1665) was marked by the construction of San Isidoro el Real, which remains the provisional Cathedral of Madrid. Marble facings, pilasters decorated with gilded bronze, a triforium composed of tribunes or rather opera-boxes, gives the interior a fashionable aspect which comes as a surprise after the nudity of the façade.

The civil buildings are less severe than the religious monuments. Even Juan de Herrera departed from his habitual coldness in these, as we see from the houses he built (Fig. 455) and the fine staircase (1598). The same remark applies



FIG. 460.—CRISTOBAL VELÁSQUEZ.  
ANNUNCIATION.  
(Church of Las Angustias, Valladolid.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 461.—HERNÁNDEZ. BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

(Museum of Valladolid.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

came more classical than in the time of Charles V.

In furniture, the use of hangings formed of breadths of velvet or damask—and sometimes of the two in alternation—bordered with galloon, held together by gold cords, finished with a fringe at the bottom, and fastened into a valance above, became popular. Cloths of the same kind were thrown over the tables. As to the seats, they were much like those used in France. Cabinets in the Italian style seem to have been greatly appreciated.

A few years before the return of Becerra to Spain (1516) Don

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The town-hall of Toledo, built about 1575 by the famous painter Domenico Theotocopuli (Domenikos Theotokopoulos), called El Greco (*inf. pp. 252-254, 267*), and finished in the reign of Philip III., and those of Leon, Lugo, and Astorga (Fig. 456) have, however, certain characteristic features in common. These are also to be found in the *Ayuntamiento* of Madrid, although this is a palace, adapted to its present use.

The interior arrangement of the ordinary well-to-do house remained unchanged. That of the palaces was subjected to the influences of France and Italy; there was a tendency to substitute the court for the *patio*, and the decoration be-



FIG. 462.—HERNÁNDEZ. VIRGIN OF SORROWS.

(Chapel de la Cruz, Valladolid.)

(Author's Phot.)

## ART IN SPAIN

Pedro Alvarez de Acosta, Bishop of Oporto, had summoned from Rome Juan de Juni, sculptor, painter, and architect, to build his episcopal palace. Biographers tell us that when this was finished, Juan de Juni went to Osma, then to Santoyo, and finally to Valladolid, where he died.

Many facts, however, remain obscure in the life of this great artist. We do not even know his nationality. If he was not born on the banks of the Tiber or the Arno, he certainly studied the arts in Michelangelo's workshop, and if he was not a Spaniard by birth, he became one by adoption.

The supreme service rendered by Juan de Juni to the schools of the North was to show them some goal other than the decoration of reredoses in compartments. The *Descent from the Cross* in the Cathedral of Segovia is held in Spain to be the master's best work (Fig. 458). The *Entombment* executed for a convent at Valladolid is to my mind superior to this. It is a magnificent study, but the divinity of Christ disappears in the humanity of the agonised victim. This slight defect of taste, atoned for by the artistic grandeur of the work and the mastery of the execution, decreases so much that we note only the fine qualities of the artist in the *Virgin of the Swords* (Fig. 459), a variation of those *Virgins of Pity* which first appear in



FIG. 463.—JUAN DE ARFE. SAINT MICHAEL.

(Museum of Salamanca.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 464.—JUAN DE ARFE.—DON CRISTOBAL DE ROJAS Y SANDOVAL.

(San Pedro, Lerma.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

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French manuscripts of the close of the fourteenth century. Crouching at the foot of the Cross, her tragic face bathed in tears, the Mother of Christ has the beauty of a woman whom years have treated tenderly, though they have left traces of their passage. Her robe is of dark red damask, her mantle indigo, warmed by brown arabesques of fine design. The figure seems to be gilded; the sunset rays of Golgotha enfold and illuminate it.

Cristobal Velasquez, by whom there is a fine *Annunciation* (Fig. 460) in this same church of Las Angustias, where we admire the *Virgin of the Swords*, occupies an honourable place beside Juan de Juni.

Gregorio Fernandez or Hernandez, the undisputed master of the 1566; Valladolid, 1636), was inspired neither by Berruguete nor by Becerra. His works show no trace of formulæ, no apparent research, no visible effort. Whereas Juan de Juni has recourse to damasks combined with the splendour of gold, the Galician master seems to be working in ivory or silver, and whether he paints carnations or stuffs he renders them with an equal care for truth. Works in which this quiet scale of colour does not prevail are wrongly ascribed to him. Among them are those *pasos* or groups in the Museum of Valladolid, which confraternities carried in procession during Holy Week. These robust figures constitute the strangest col-



FIG. 465.—MONTAÑÉS. SAINT JEROME.  
(Reredos of San Jeronimo at Santiponce.)  
(Author's Phot.)

Castilian school (Galicia,



FIG. 466.—MONTAÑÉS. CRUCIFIX.  
(Sacristry de Los Calices, Cathedral of Seville.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 467.—MONTAÑÉS. SAINT BRUNO.  
(Cathedral of Cadiz.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

mantle falls to the feet in heavy folds. The eyes and the tears which roll down the cheeks are of glass. These incrustations, very skilfully harmonised with the polychromy, enhance the startling effect. Antenor and Phidias preceded Juan de Juni and Gregorio Hernandez in this perilous path.

Hernandez was probably still alive when a Portuguese artist, Manuel Peyrera (? 1600, Madrid, 1667), settled at Madrid. His reputation grew rapidly. The *Saint Bruno* in the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores proves that it was not undeserved. The statue is painted, but has neither gold nor damascening. The mitre and crozier alone show traces of metal, and stand out against the whites of the gown and scapulary,

lection of ruffians and bandits that ever peopled a nightmare dream. The denizens of the *picaresque* world live again in them, with their flushed faces, ragged garments, and jail-bird airs.

On the other hand, the *Pietà* and the *Baptism of Christ* in the Valladolid Museum are undoubtedly by Herrera, and also the *Virgen de las Angustias* (Virgin of Sorrows, Fig. 462), the masterpiece of the polychrome statuary of the North. The deep-set eyes with their dark circles form two tragic spots that harmonise with the pallid lips. The head, draped in diaphanous stuffs, has an ethereal and heavenly aspect, while the brown robe with its blood-red reflections and the touch of yellow ochre on the sleeves brings back the thoughts to earth. A bluish black



FIG. 468.—MONTAÑÉS. IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.  
(Cathedral of Seville.)  
(Author's Phot.)

## THE RENAISSANCE

the warm and vigorous tones of which suggest a metallic basis by their transparency.

The history of sculpture in Castille would be incomplete if we omitted to mention the works of the Leoni, for three generations the favourites, first of Charles V. and then of Philip II. They exercised an incontestable influence upon the technique of Spanish metal-founding. Besides their groups and figures for the Escorial, they executed a large number of bronze statues and medals with effigies of the sovereigns.

Their rival, Juan de Arfe (1523-1603), was the grandson of a celebrated German goldsmith, Enrique de Arfe, who came to Spain in the last years of the fifteenth century. Although Juan de Arfe claimed only the modest title of *escultor de plata y oro*, he held a brilliant position side by side with the Leoni.

This *worker in gold and silver* built up his fame by his monstrances (*custodias*). He made two for Valladolid, and others for the cathedrals of Burgos, Avila, Seville, and Santiago de Compostela. Another much admired work was his Saint Michael overcoming Satan (Fig. 463).

As a statuary, Juan de Arfe's masterpiece is the praying figure of Don Cristobal de Rojas y Sandoval, Archbishop of Seville (Fig. 464). Death overtook the artist before the statue was cast, and the operation was superintended by Lesme Fernandez del Moral, under the direction



FIG. 470.—ALONSO CANO. SOLEDAD.  
(Santa Ana, Granada.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 469.—ALONSO CANO. HEAD OF SAINT JOHN BAPTIST.  
(San Juan de Dios, Granada.)  
(Phot. Linares.)

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of Pompeo Leoni. This circumstance has led to a confusion which it is necessary to clear up, for it concerns a masterpiece.

Other workers in silver, Vergara el Viejo, Cristobal de Andino, Antonio Suarez and Juan de Benavente enjoyed, together with Arfe, a well-earned celebrity (*inf. p. 268*).

The real rival of Gregorio Hernandez in the South was Juan Martinez Montañes (Alcala la Real, Province of Jaen, about 1564 ; Seville, 1649). His first authentically dated work is of the year 1607. He must have been over forty when he executed it. The dominant characteristics of his artistic personality are faith and sincerity. In these respects he has affinities with Gregorio Hernandez. No artist ever had a greater respect for truth nor a deeper sense of the decency, nobility, and æsthetic beauty

essential in the association of Christian idealism with the reproduction of human forms. He is the honour of his school ; he raised Spanish polychrome sculpture to lofty heights of splendour, and soars in the same regions as Velazquez and Murillo, his admirers and his brothers by genius.

Montañes (Fig. 497) spent two years designing and carving the magnificent reredos and statues the Hieronymites ordered for their monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, at Santiponce, near Seville. The *Saint Jerome*, which equals Torrigiano's masterpiece (Fig. 448) in plastic beauty, is relieved against a background



FIG. 471.—ALONSO CANO. SAINT ANNE, THE VIRGIN, AND THE INFANT JESUS.  
(Cathedral of Granada.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 472.—PEDRO ROLDAN. THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

(Reredos of la Caridad, Granada.)

(Phot. Beauchy.)

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FIG. 473.—J. A. GIXON. DYING CHRIST.  
(Chap. of Triana, near Seville.)  
(Author's Phot.)

the *Passion*, and *Dying Christs*, to which his talent and his piety enabled him to give such poignant expression. The earliest was executed for the celebrated Confraternity of *Cristo del Gran Poder*. The second (1623), known as the *Señor de la Pasión*, belongs to the Convent of the Merced Calzada at Seville. The latest is in the church of San Pedro at Vergara (Basque Prov.).

It was reserved for Montañés, while not unmindful of his heritage from his predecessors, to give an ideal representation of the immaculately conceived Virgin. His first *Concepción* dates from 1630. Mary meditates on the mystery of her birth; no sorrowful thought distracts or troubles her (Fig. 468). Montañés, though he does not insist on feminine

of subdued tones (Fig. 465). The carnations look as if they had been painted on old ivory, the golden patina of which had been retained in parts.

The Crucifix of Los Calices, executed by the master at the finest period of his artistic career (1614), is perhaps the supreme rendering of the divine Victim (Fig. 466). The painting was entrusted to Pacheco, who executed it in the non-lustrous tones he affected. It is highly finished, and very harmonious, and does great honour to the painter (*inf. p. 248*).

It was in 1619 that Montañés conceived the idea of those *Omni-potent Christs*, those *Christs of*



FIG. 474.—TOMB OF LORENZO SUÁREZ  
DE FIGUEROA.  
(Cathedral of Badajoz.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 475.—PACHECO. CATALINA DE ERAUSO.  
THE STANDARD-BEARER NUN.  
(Marquis de Seoane.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

Alfonso Martinez, Alonso de Mena, Luis Ortiz, Abbot Juan Gomez, Abbot Solis, and Alonso Cano were the heirs of the great Sevillian master.

Alonso Cano, who shed fresh lustre on the school of Seville, was born at Granada, March 17, 1601. He came at an early age to Seville, where he studied painting under Pacheco and sculpture under Montañes. He also worked industriously in making copies of the antiques in the famous Casa de Pilatos (*sup.* p. 159). The two altar-pieces of Santa Paula, Seville, which he designed, carved, painted and gilded entirely himself, it is said, belong to this period. Among his youthful works we know of a *Concepcion* placed over the door of the nuns of this order, a second belonging to the parish church of San Andres,

contours after the manner of Torrigiano, nevertheless chose for his model a young Andalusian in the flower of her beauty. Though the lines of the body are chastely attenuated, they give a peculiar grace to the folds of the robe and mantle. Such was the theme which the master varied in its details, but to which he remained faithful, the theme which so many painters and sculptors reproduced after him.

The reredos and the *Saint Bruno* (Fig. 467) in the Cathedral at Cadiz (1641) are the last works by Montañes of which there is any record.



FIG. 476.—PEDRO CAMPAÑA. DESCENT  
FROM THE CROSS.  
(Cathedral of Seville.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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and a few statues of minor importance.

Alonso perhaps painted more than he modelled (*inf.* p. 259). The pictures attributed to him are, indeed, numerous, and for the most part authentic. The same cannot be said of the statues. Under cover of this observation I will note among the statues ascribed to Alonso Cano those which seem to me to be by him; but I will not answer for it that among the number there may not be a figure by Diego de Pesquera (by whom there are works in the Cathedral of Granada falsely attributed to Torrigiano), by Pedro de Mena, or José de Mora, who assimilated his master's manner and copied his principal works with equal fidelity and talent.

The *Saint Bruno* (half life-size) in the Carthusian monastery at Granada enjoys a well-deserved reputation in Spain. The pale face of the monk, his bloodless hands, his white habit and scapulary,

would seem ill-adapted to polychromy. The artist has triumphed over the difficulty, and has so varied the whites of the carnations and of the woollen materials as to give them a veritable richness of tone. He got this result by painting the draperies on a gold ground. The artifice, indeed, was one known to all damasceners (*sup.* pp. 240-241).

*La Soledad* (Isolation, Abandonment) is a reproduction in relief of the celebrated Virgin painted by Alonso Cano under this name for the cathedral (*inf.* p. 260). The face and hands have the dead pallor characteristic



FIG. 477.—LUIS DE MORALES. VIRGIN AND CHILD.  
(Prado Museum.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)



FIG. 478.—SANCHEZ COELLO. DON CARLOS.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Anderson.)

of the Andalusian's complexion ; the milky-white of the gown and veil, and the blue black of the cloak, far from injuring one another, are brought into harmony by dexterously treated reflections. A galloon of pale violet, interwoven with gold and silver, borders the sleeves, and gives a touch of colour to the austere conception (Fig. 470).

Side by side with these masterly works we may place a *Head of John the Baptist* (Fig. 469), and a *Saint Anne* with the three figures (Fig. 471, cf. Fig. 334) attributed to Diego de Pesquera. The three generations are brought together in a composition full of charm.

An artist greatly superior to José de Mora was another pupil of Cano's, Pedro de Mena, the author of the *Saint Francis of Assisi* in the Cathedral of Toledo, of a *Saint Mary Magdalen* and of other justly celebrated works.



FIG. 480.—J. PANTOJA DE LA CRUZ.  
PHILIP II.

(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 479.—SANCHEZ COELLO. DOÑA ISABEL CLARA EUGENIA.

(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

At the time when the school of Granada was flourishing, Pedro Roldan (1624 – 1700) was perpetuating the great traditions of Montañés' workshop at Seville. They live again in the reredos of the archiepiscopal church, and in that of the Hospital de la Caridad. The latter represents the Entombment. Christ and the figures round the Holy Sepulchre are in high relief ; those further behind are barely raised from the background. It is a unique piece of work, but it is only fair

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FIG. 481.—EL GRECO. HOLY FAMILY.  
(Wames Collection, Buda-Pesth.)  
(Phot. Thomas.)

figure of Faith which crowns the artist, perhaps an Italian, produced the sepulchral tablet of the ambassador Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa in Venetian bronze (Fig. 474). It is a work which Torrigiano might have signed.

Just when many Spanish painters who had studied under Florentine and Lombard masters were returning to their native land, Charles V. and Philip II. also summoned Italian and Flemish artists to their court. Prominent among the latter was Pedro Campana or Kempeneer (1503–1580), the painter of the famous *Descent from the Cross* in Seville Cathedral (Fig. 476). Under this double influence three schools were formed of very different methods, tendencies, and temperaments. The first is characterised by the general culture of its

to add that the bas-relief was painted by Juan Valdes Leal (*inf.* p. 262), and that Murillo (*inf.* pp. 260–262) helped the polychromist with his advice, if not with his brush.

A contemporary of Pedro Roldan's at Seville was Juan Antonio Gixon, the author of a *Cristo de la Espiración* (Dying Christ) which is also one of the gems of Christian art (Fig. 473).

The South, like the North, had its workers in silver and bronze. About the time when Bartolomé Morel executed for Seville Cathedral the *Tenebrario* (1562), a fan-shaped lamp-standard eight metres high, decorated with fifteen figures, and the colossal



FIG. 482.—EL GRECO. BURIAL OF COUNT D'ORGAS. FRAGMENT.  
(Santo Tomé, Toledo.)



FIG. 483.—J. DE RIBERA. MARTYRDOM OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Anderson.)

is celebrated for his gifts in draughtsmanship, portraiture, fresco, polychromatic painting of statues, and, above all, in teaching. He is also famous as the master and father-in-law of Velazquez.

At the head of the artists who prepared the way for the rise of the national school we must place Alejo Fernandez, a Cordovan who died at Seville in 1543, Luis Morales, Francisco and Juan de Ribalta, the licentiate Juan de las Roelas, Juan del Castillo and Francisco Herrera. Luis Morales (Badajoz, about 1509–1586), surnamed El Divino (i.e. the painter of divine figures) personified the tendencies which manifested themselves around him. His somewhat angular style recalls that of the Flemish Primitives, and yet we feel that he was haunted by memories of Michelangelo. In his first manner Morales essayed large compositions. Later he showed a predilection for restricted subjects, one or two half-length figures (Fig. 477). The touch is precise; the drawing full of elegance,

members. The second comprised the reformers, the third the portrait-painters.

The masters of the first group were Pablo de Cespedes (1538–1608), Vicente Carducho (Carducci, Florence, 1578; Madrid, 1638), and Francisco Pacheco (Seville, 1571–1654), author of *El arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandeza* (Seville, 1649), which has come down to us together with certain fragments of his *Descripción de los retratos autenticos de ilustres y memorables personajes*. As an artist Pacheco



FIG. 484.—J. DE RIBERA. HOLY TRINITY.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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the colour refined and delicate, the expression intense and poignant.

Francisco de Ribalta (Castellon de la Plana, about 1551–1628) has affinities with the school of Correggio and Schidone in Italy, and with Juan de Juanes of Valencia (*sup. p. 231*), as we see in the altar-piece of Carcagente, and the *Dead Christ supported by two Angels* in the Prado Museum. He studied chiaroscuro, attempted to model figures by showing them with one side only turned to the light, and consequently substituted the light of the studio for that of the open air. This innovation was looked upon as progressive in his day.

Francisco de Ribalta encouraged a temperament even bolder and more original than his own in his son. Juan de Ribalta died at the age of thirty. He left a series of fine portraits, the majority of which are in the Museum of Valencia.

The licentiate Juan de Ruelas called Las Roelas (Seville, 1559–Olivares, 1625), received a classical education, took orders, and then, yielding to his love of the arts, went to study painting under Tintoretto at Venice. He is distinguished by the warm harmony of his colour, and by his skill in distributing light and shadow; he is further honourably known as the master of Zurbaran.

Juan del Castillo (Seville, 1584—Cádiz, 1640), a fellow-student of Pacheco's, is known to us likewise as a professor, and notably as the instructor of Alonso Cano and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.



FIG. 485.—ZURBARÁN. APOTHEOSIS OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS.  
(Museum of Seville.) (Phot. Anderson.)



FIG. 486.—ZURBARÁN. ANNUNCIATION.  
(Gallery of San Telmo, Seville.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 487.—ZURBARÁN. SAINT CATHERINE.  
(Cathedral of Palencia.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Herrera, called *El Viejo* (Seville, 1576—Madrid, 1656), to distinguish him from his youngest son Herrera *El Mozo*, is, of all the artists born in the sixteenth century, and trained in Italian methods, the one who broke away from the old traditions most completely. He painted martyrdoms, the torments of the damned, apocalyptic visions, monks and Fathers of the Church with faces ravaged by austerities or convulsed by passion. His brush was as violent as his character was brutal, but his figures are grandiose and dignified. His best works are: the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* in the Hospital of La Sangre at Seville, the *Last Judgment* in the Church of San Bernardo, the *Saint Basil*

in the Louvre, the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, the *Repentance of Saint Peter* in the Prado, and finally, the *Triumph of Saint Hermenegild*, painted for the Monastery of the Jesuits at Seville, where he had taken refuge from a threatened danger.

The third group, that of the portrait-painters, includes three great artists.

Although born at Utrecht about 1512, Antonio Mor, or Moro, is claimed for the Spanish school by virtue of his long sojourn in Madrid, and the transformation of his art in that city. After seeing the Titians in Charles V.'s collection, he softened the contours he had hitherto defined with hardness and emphasis, and added some of the Venetian master's tints to his palette. As court painter, he executed portraits of *Mary*



FIG. 488.—VELAZQUEZ. LOS BORRACHOS.  
(Prado Museum.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

*Prince Balthazar Carlos.*  
VELAZQUEZ. (Madrid. Prado Museum.)







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*Tudor of England*, wife of Philip II.; of *Catalina of Portugal* (inf. p. 333), and *Maria of Austria*, the sister and daughter respectively of Charles V.; of *Maximilian II.*; of a *Lady with a little Dog*; and of the *Jester Pejero*. They are a series of masterpieces (Prado, Louvre, and Belvedere).

Alonso Sanchez Coello or Coelho (Benifayo, about 1515—Madrid, 1590), as the Portuguese write the name of the artist, whom they claim, was at first attached as painter in ordinary to the Infanta of Portugal, Doña Juana, daughter of Charles V. From 1542, when he was still at Madrid, he was on terms of close friendship with Moro, to whose office he was promoted when the latter fell into disgrace. Coello appropriated the Flemish traditions and the rich colour of the Utrecht master, without ever achieving his vigour. On the other hand, his greys are delicate and transparent as the water of a pearl, and he gives his models a fascinating distinction (Figs. 478, 479).



FIG. 489.—VELAZQUEZ. OLIVARES.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)



FIG. 490.—VELAZQUEZ. DOÑA MARGARITA  
OF AUSTRIA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Anderson.)

The works of Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (Madrid, 1551—? 1609) have for the most part perished in the fires at the various palaces. In those which have survived, we recognise the pupil of Moro and Coello (Fig. 480). The personages of Philip III.'s court whom he painted have not always the easy patrician air bestowed on them by Coello. And yet it would

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be difficult to find a portrait more supple and charming than that of the unknown woman in the Prado (Pl. II.).

Before we go on to the supreme masters of the seventeenth century, we must mention Juan de Villodo (1480-1555), Luis de Carvajal (1534-1613), the painter of Philip II., Gaspar Becerra (1520-1570), who, after Alonso Berruguete, is one of the most complete of the Spanish artists (*sup.* pp. 229, 230), and among the foreigners, El Gréco, already mentioned (p. 237) in connection with the town-hall of Toledo.

Domenico Theotocopuli (Candia, ? 1584—Madrid, 1625) studied painting, sculpture, and architecture at Venice, and appears to have frequented the studios of Titian and Tintoretto. He then

went to Rome, where he copied works by Correggio and Michelangelo, and came to Spain about 1576. It was, in any case, in 1577 that he began the famous *Casting Lots for the Tunic*, destined for the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral. Two years later, Philip II. commissioned him to paint a *Martyrdom of Saint Maurice and his Companions*. At this juncture, he discarded the warm and golden tones so much admired in the *Casting Lots for the Tunic*, and thenceforth used only the colours affected by the polychromatic sculptors (*sup.* p. 228). He further suppressed blue, and retained only reddish-brown, yellow ochre, madder lake, black, and white. At the same time he elongated his figures, in order, as he wrote, "to make celestial bodies, just as we see lights, which, when we look at them from a



FIG. 491.—VELAZQUEZ. PHILIP IV.  
(Prado Museum.) (*Phot. Hachette.*)



FIG. 492.—VELAZQUEZ. DON  
BALTHASAR CARLOS.  
(Prado Museum.)  
(*Phot. Hachette.*)

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distance, appear large, however small they may be." Philip II. did not understand the great artist, and he refused the *Saint Maurice*. The Archbishop of Toledo showed more taste than the king, and

it was by his order that in 1584 El Greco painted the famous *Burial of Count d'Orgaz* (Fig. 482). The Trinity surrounded by angels is enthroned in the distant sky, while on earth, in the midst of a numerous company of clerics, monks, and noble persons, Saint Stephen and Saint Augustine in pontifical robes support the body of the Count, a flexible figure, in spite of the armour in which it is encased. The composition, which terminates above in a semi-circle, has a curious rhythm, borrowed from Plateresque architecture. In the centre of the horizontal plinth formed by the congregation, a perfect circle is inscribed, the circumference of which is marked in high tones by the chasubles of the saints and the winding sheet of the Count. Above, an arch of contrary flexure, cut by a curvilinear triangle studded by the angels



FIG. 493.—VELAZQUEZ. DOÑA MARÍA TERESA OF AUSTRIA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

saints and the winding sheet of the Count. Above, an arch of contrary flexure, cut by a curvilinear triangle studded by the angels

In addition to these two superlative works, the following are to be reckoned among the mas-



FIG. 494.—VELAZQUEZ. THE FORGE OF VULCAN.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 495. — VELAZQUEZ. VENUS WITH THE MIRROR.  
(National Gallery, London.)

*Cristo difunto*, No. 239, Prado), *The Apostles*, a *Holy Family*, and some superb portraits (Museum and Casa Consistoriales, Toledo).

During his life El Greco tasted celebrity, but he also knew poverty, and even, we are told, suffered imprisonment for debt. In any case, he was completely forgotten after his death. At present, when he enjoys a well-earned reputation, speculators have put such a collection of copies and imitations of his pictures and sculpture on the market that they threaten to compromise the work of reparation. Hence, those who wish to judge this great artist aright must go to Toledo.

This is the temple of his glory (*inf. p. 267*).

El Greco's best pupil was Tristan, who imitated his manner so closely, that failing careful examination, *The Most Holy Trinity* in Seville Cathedral has been ascribed to the master, though it is duly signed: *Luys Tristan faciebat, Toleti, 1629*.

Four great painters of very different temperaments shed extra-

ter's finest pictures: *The Assumption of the Virgin* (San Vicente Martir, Toledo), *The Coronation of the Virgin* (F. Bosch Coll. Madrid), *Saint Francis of Assisi*, *Saint Eugenius* (Escorial), *Saint John the Evangelist*, *Saint John the Baptist* (Santo Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo), *The Most Holy Trinity* (Jesu



FIG. 496.—VELAZQUEZ. LAS LANZAS.  
(Prado Museum.)

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FIG. 497.—VELAZQUEZ. J. MARTÍNEZ  
MONTAÑÉS.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

ordinary lustre over the School of Seville during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Jose or Jusepe de Ribera (Játiva, 1588—Naples 1656), began his artistic education in Ribalta's studio, and finished his studies in Italy. Caravaggio made such an impression on him that he adopted the Italian's naturalism and his sombre manner. *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (Fig. 483), versions of which are in the Museums of Madrid, Berlin, Dresden, and in the Pitti Palace, and the *Holy Trinity* (Fig. 484), are characteristic examples of this phase of his art. When, however, he treats less

austere subjects, he approaches Correggio, as in the *Saint Mary the Egyptian* (Dresden), the *Penitent Magdalen*, *Jacob's Ladder* (Prado), the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Louvre) *Saint Mary the White* (Church of the Incurables, Naples), and the *Immaculate Conception* (Augustines of Salamanca).

Zurbarán (Fuente de Cantos, 1598—Madrid ? 1663) was born in a peasant's cottage. His talent for drawing was so pronounced that his parents did not hesitate to send him to Seville, where he became the pupil of Juan de Roelas and Herrera. At the age of twenty-five he undertook the altarpiece for the Cathedral, which secured his reputation. The famous *Apotheosis of Thomas Aquinas* (Fig. 485) still recalls



FIG. 498.—VELAZQUEZ. LAS HILANDERAS.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 499.—VELAZQUEZ. LAS MENINAS.  
(Phot. Hachette.)

The incomparable chief of the Spanish School received instruction first from Herrera el Viejo, and then from Pacheco (*sup. p. 248*). His first, so-called Sevillian manner, shows the influence not only of

the masters of his youth, but also of Juan de Roelas and more especially Ribera. In 1622 he married Juana de Miranda, Pacheco's daughter, and at the recommendation of his father-in-law, went to Madrid. There he studied the works of Titian, analysed those of Moro, and painted the portraits of Philip IV. and of the Infante Don Carlos, the king's brother. They are conscientious works, tightly modelled, and somewhat hard in execution. The company of topers known as *Baco* (Bacchus) or *Los Borrachos* (the Drinkers) (Fig. 488), is the last and the finest of the series (1928-1629).

In the same year that he finished *The Drinkers*, Velazquez, acting upon the advice of Rubens, went to Italy.



FIG. 500.—ALONSO CANO. DEAD CHRIST.  
(Prado Museum.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

the manner of his masters. Later Zurbarán inclined to Italy, and deserved the title of the Spanish Caravaggio, though he never left his native land, and only knew Amerighi through the intermediary of Ribera. An *Annunciation* (Fig. 486) and a *Saint Catherine* (Fig. 487) may be singled out among his finer works.

Seville boasts of having given birth to Velazquez (Don Diego Velazquez de Silva, Seville, 1599—Madrid, 1660), and Portugal proudly claims the noble family to which he belonged.

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FIG. 501.—ALONSO CANO. VIRGIN AND CHILD.

(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

race, the queens, the sad and serious Infantas, conscious of the stern eyes of the *Camarera mayor*, the insolent Count Duke, vain and haughty. The childish Prince Balthasar alone has a smile.

To distract Philip IV., inconsolable for the death of his son, the Infant Balthasar Carlos (1646), Velasquez painted the buffoons and dwarfs with whom the monarch liked to be surrounded. Such was the genius of the artist that in spite of their physical or moral degeneracy there is nothing repulsive in his renderings of them.

If he seeks inspiration in mythology, he shows us the robust proletariat in his *Mercury and Argus* and in his smiths of the *Fragua de Vulcano* (*Forge of Vulcan*, Fig. 494), and woman radiant with youth in his *Venus del Espejo* (*with the*

The great Venetians revealed his own genius to him. He felt the importance of light, he distributed and treated it by infinitely delicate gradations. To this second manner belong the portraits (he had assistance for the royal equestrian portraits) of Doña Maria, Queen of Hungary; Philip III. Doña Margarita of Austria (Fig. 490), Philip IV. (Fig. 491), Doña Isabel de Borbón, the Infante Balthasar Carlos (Fig. 492 and Pl. III.), the Infanta Doña Maria Teresa of Austria (Fig. 493), the Count Duke Olivares (Fig. 489), Admiral Pulido Pareja, Duke Francis of Modena, and Pope Innocent X. A whole society appears in these as vividly as in the comedies of Calderon; the pale, emaciated Philip IV., the sickly scion of a dying



FIG. 502.—MURILLO. SAINT ANTHON IN ECSTASY.

(Museum of Seville.)  
(Phot. Anderson.)

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*Mirror*) (Fig. 495) which some have rashly attributed to his son-in-law, Martinez del Mazo. The year 1647 was marked by the production of the *Redición de Breda* or *Las Lanzas* (Fig. 496). Composition, drawing, colour, figures, landscape, sky and accessories are here all equally admirable. The *Surrender of Breda* is the masterpiece of historical painting, and the highest manifestation of Velazquez' genius. The Marquis de Spinola thinks and speaks; the spectator involuntarily bends forward to hear the courteous words with which he greets Justin of Nassau, the Governor of the fortress.

The master paid a second visit to Italy, and on his return in 1651, the king appointed him to (Marshal-Purveyor of the Palace).



FIG. 503.—SAINT ELIZABETH (ISABEL) OF HUNGARY.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

the high office of *Aposentador*. The occupations of his new post did not interrupt the course of his artistic career. *The Sculptor Montañés* (Fig. 497), an admirable portrait in which Spain's greatest painter immortalised her greatest sculptor, the *Infanta Margarita*, the *Infant Felipe Prospero*, and finally, in 1656, *Las Hilanderas* (*The Spinners*, Fig. 498), and *Las Meñinas* (*The Maids of Honour*, Fig. 499), are examples of Velazquez' last manner, known in Spain as his *manera abreviado* (simplified). Working in haste, as it has been suggested, but rather aided by marvellous vision and a hand ever obedient to his thought, Velazquez painted *alla prima*, without any



FIG. 504.—MURILLO. SAINT ILDEFONSO RECEIVING THE CHASUBLE FROM THE HANDS OF THE VIRGIN.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Anderson.)

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FIG. 505.—MURILLO. IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.  
(Drawing belonging to M. L. de Madrazo.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

marriage, and whose *View of Saragossa* he himself completed; Juan Pareja, a mulatto slave whom he freed, and Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614–1685), an artist attached to the household of Charles II, who painted several portraits of the sovereign.

Just at the time when the schools of Valencia and Seville were at their apogee, an artistic centre was formed at Granada, which produced some sculptors of very individual talent. Alonso Cano was its actual founder (*sup.* p. 244). The pupil successively of Montañés and Juan del Castillo (*sup.* p. 248), he entered Pacheco's studio to perfect himself, and

preparation. The shadows are very lightly touched in, the lights are loaded; he neglects accidents and unimportant details and emphasises essential traits, but his power of synthesis is so unerring, his skill so supreme that his *simplified pictures* impress us as highly finished and elaborately treated works. From the technical standpoint, Velazquez is the greatest master the world has known. I may add that Fortune never ceased to smile on him. He knew all the joys of triumph and none of the miseries of a difficult beginning or a neglected end.

Velazquez had no successors. Among the painters formed under his influence were Juan Bautista Martinez del Mazo (1615–1667), for whom he had so much regard that he gave him his daughter in



FIG. 506.—MURILLO. ANNUNCIATION.  
(Prado Museum.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

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here formed a lasting friendship with Velazquez. Raphael was his god, and his whole work as a painter was an act of worship. His *Dead Christ sustained by Angels* (Fig. 500), where the beauty of the anatomical study rivals the charm of the colour, his *Virgins* in blue mantles and white veils, so pure and expressive in type, his poignant *Soledad* in the Cathedral at Granada, are popular throughout Spain.

The group at Granada further included Pedro de Moya (1610-1666), who, instead of studying in Italy, had gone to Flanders for instruction, and had there served as a soldier, afterwards passing to Van Dyck's studio in London, and becoming the master's friend. Pedro de Moya is less famous on his own account than as the first person to appreciate Murillo, and to point out to him the path on which he was to win fame.

Bartolomé Estéban Murillo (Seville, 1618-1682) met Pedro de



FIG. 507.—MURILLO. VIRGIN WITH THE ROSARY.

(Prado Museum.)  
(Phot. Anderson.)



FIG. 508.—MURILLO. JESUS AND SAINT JOHN AS CHILDREN.

(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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ten years he busied himself in making copies of the Titians, Veroneses, Rubens, Van Dycks and Velazquez' of the magnificent royal collections. In 1645 Murillo returned to Seville and painted *The Angels preparing Food for San Diego* (The Louvre), *The Death of St. Clara* (Dresden), *San Diego de Alcalá* (Prado), under the inspiration of the masters he had so patiently studied. Finally, in 1649, delivered from all outside constraint, he painted the admirable *Saint Anthony of Padua* of the Museum (Fig. 502) and of the Cathedral of Seville, and later *Saint Elizabeth dressing the Wounds of Sufferers* (Fig. 503), *Saint Ildefonso receiving a Chasuble from the Hands of the Virgin* (Fig. 504), the *Annunciation* (Fig. 506), the *Virgin of the Rosary* (Fig. 507), *Saint Thomas*, and finally the *Christ leaning from the Cross to embrace Saint Francis of Assisi*, in the Seville Museum, sublime pages in which the joys of asceticism and the mystery of ecstasy are rendered with an emotion which has never been equalled.

Between 1660 and 1674 Murillo composed for the *Hermandad de la Caridad*, to which he was affiliated, a magnificent series of compositions. The *Moses striking the Rock* (*La Sed*) and the *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes* (*Pan y Peces*) which belong to it, are among his largest works.

Murillo was also the painter



FIG. 509.—MURILLO. INFANT CHRIST WITH A LAMB.

(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)



FIG. 510.—MURILLO. YOUNG BEGGER.

(The Louvre.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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FIG. 511.—CLAUDIO COELLO,  
APOTHEOSIS OF SAINT AUGUSTINE  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

Seville the young vagabonds he shows us in his pictures at Munich, and Dresden, in the Hermitage and in the Louvre (Fig. 510).

Murillo did not specialise in religious pictures. He rendered familiar and realistic subjects with striking truth; he found in the streets of

Two painters attempted to rival Murillo. The first, Francisco Herrera el Mozo (Seville, 1622—Madrid, 1685) is one of the first artists whose works show traces of decadence. In spite of his conventional and affected style, he enjoyed the favour of Maria Anna of Austria and Charles II. The second, Juan de Valdés Leal (Cordova, 1630—1691), was, on the other hand, an artist of merit, and an expressive colourist in the highest sense of the term. Sometimes he draws inspiration from Murillo, as in the *Assumption* in the National Gallery, the *Immaculate Conception* in the



FIG. 512.—SEVILLE. CATHEDRAL.  
GRILLE OF THE CHOIR.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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Museum of Seville, *The Virgin of the Goldsmiths* in the Cordova Museum; sometimes he seems to take pleasure in the representation of repulsive subjects. Like Pacheco, Valdés Leal was much in request as a collaborator among polychromers (sup. p. 247).

Among the disciples of Valdés Leal we must reckon Palomino (1653-1726). He wrote the *Museo Pittorico*, which gained him the nickname of the Spanish Vasari. On the other hand, he composed religious pictures and painted frescoes on the vaults of Los Santos Juanes at Valencia, San Esteban at Salamanca, and the chapel called the *Tabernaculo* in the Carthusian monastery at Paular, where he may compare with the Neapolitan Solimena and the Cavaliere del Pozzo.

The head of the School of Madrid was Antonio Pereda (Valladolid, 1599-1678). He painted a *Genoa relieved by the Marquis de Santa Cruz*, for the Queen's Saloon at Buen Retiro. Claudio Coello (Madrid, 1623 ?-1693), a pupil of F. Ricci, who recalls the Flemings by the brilliance of his colour and light (Fig. 511), enriched the Escorial with the *Sagrada Forma* (consecrated wafer), in which there are portraits of Charles II., the Prior of the Escorial, and the principal personages of the Court. Jacinto Jeronimo de Espinosa (1600-1680), was a masterly exponent of the naturalistic tradition of Ribalta at Valencia. Then came Mateo Gilarte (1620-1700), an imitator of Zurbaran, and the pupils of Velazquez already mentioned (p. 259). Juan de Arellano



FIG. 514.—EPISCOPAL CROZIER.  
(Collection of Cardinal Moreno.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 513.—A. SUAREZ. SILVER CUSTODIA.

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(Santorczaz, 1614—Madrid, 1676), and Bartolomé Pérez (Madrid, 1634—1693) were two flower-painters.

The art of the Golden Century is, as it were, a seal set upon Spanish art. The history of its origin and development is thenceforth complete, and from the glorious eminence where it reigns we may survey the road by which it travelled. France, Burgundy, Flanders, Germany, Italy, and Islam inspired it in turns, but Spain soon reacted, and we have seen that of all the teachings by which she profited those of France and of the Musulman East were the only ones which had a lasting influence upon her. The one gained its ascendancy by proximity and a natural affinity; the other by a contact that



FIG. 515.—ENRIQUE DE ARFE.  
SILVER CUSTODIA.  
(San Benito de Sahagun.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

lasted over eight hundred years.

The influence of France was general. That of Islam was limited, and in the domain of art was seen chiefly in architecture, decoration, and the minor arts. Painting felt its effects by the intermediary of manuscripts, woven materials, embroideries, porcelain, ivories and brasses.

These unions with the East were not confined to Spain (*sup.* pp. 25, 42–46). At the close of the Gothic period Venice, long subject to the direct influence of Byzantium and the indirect influence of Islam, had also a phase analogous to the *Mudejar*



FIG. 516.—JUAN DE BENAVENTE.  
SILVER CUSTODIA.  
(Cathedral of Palencia.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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stage, during which there existed likenesses between her arts and those of Spain, due less to direct borrowings than to remote alliances between common ancestors.

In certain contemporary buildings the family likeness is so strong that they might be transported from Venice to Spain, and from Spain to Venice without impairing the æsthetic harmony of their surroundings. The reasons for such analogies also apply to the affinities between the Venetian and Andalusian schools of painting, and this gives fresh interest to a demonstration of the facts. True, the Spain of the Golden Century owed much to Italy; but it was Siena, Florence, Rome, and Naples that her artists first frequented. Nor must we invoke the superb works of Titian and Tintoretto with which Charles V., and his successors Philip II., Philip III., and Philip IV., enriched the royal palaces, for the Venetian kinship first makes itself felt in Seville, and the school of Seville succeeded to that of Valencia, a fief of the Florentines (*sup.* pp. 231-2). Thus Pedro Sanchez, the artist who opened out the path on which he was followed by the great masters whom Seville proudly claims as her children, knew Italy only by the intermediary of Vicente Macip, Juan de Juanes, and perhaps Luis de Vargas (*sup.* p. 232). Nevertheless, there are pictures by him, such as the *Entombment* in the Buda-Pesth Museum, which we might unhesitatingly assign to the Venetian School but for the signature. On the other hand,



FIG. 517.—PROCESSIONAL CROSS.  
(Cathedral of Astorga.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 518.—PAX.  
(Cathedral of Astorga.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 519.—ECCLESIASTICAL OBJECTS.  
(Cathedral of Toledo.)  
(Phot. Levy.)

understand the affinities between the schools of Venice and Seville, we must remember that they were longer in contact with the East than any other towns in Italy and Spain.

A disregard for the importance of origins, and an exaggerated importance given to fortuitous contacts in order to explain striking resemblances, has led writers who have an enthusiasm more literary than artistic in its essence for El Greco, to magnify the part played by the master of Candia. They make him the intermediary of the Venetians and credit him with a decisive, but to my mind very disputable, influence on Sevillian painters, and notably on Velazquez.

In the first place, if El

Fernandez Navarrete (Logroño, 1526; Toledo, 1579), known as El Mudo (the Mute) or the *Ticiano español*, who really introduced the rich palette of the Venetians into Spain, belonged to the school of Madrid, where he had no imitators, and exercised no influence on the school of Seville, which had already found its way. This was also to some extent the case of a pupil of Tintoretto's, Juan de Roelas (*sup. pp. 249, 255*), for Zurbarán, his favourite pupil, was the most individual of Spanish painters. In short, to under-



FIG. 520.—CHASUBLE. (XVI<sup>th</sup> CENTURY.)  
(Archaeological Museum, Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 521.—MARQUETRY SEAT.  
(Archæological Museum, Madrid.)  
(Author's Phot.)

Greco was a disciple of Tintoretto, he forsook his master and won back his Græco-Byzantine individuality after his arrival at Toledo (*sup. p. 267*) ; then, he does not account for Pedro Sanchez ; finally, Velazquez, when commissioned by Philip II. to arrange the pictures in the Escorial, did not give a prominent position to any picture of El Greco's. Had he admired him so unreservedly as to have drawn inspiration from him, he would certainly have acted differently. Besides, the whole work as well as the lives of the two painters were so dissimilar that there can be no question of any artistic affiliation.

Once only, in the portrait of the Count of Benavente (Prado), Velazquez shows a nervousness and introduces a distribution of light unusual with him and habitual with El Greco ; save in this single figure, he is distinguished from his senior by marked characteristics, even when the subject invites similarity of treatment. This remark applies specially to the *Coronation of the Virgin* by El Greco, that precious jewel of the Pablo Bosch Collection, which is persistently compared with a canvas in the Prado on which Velazquez has treated the same subject. We might just as well say that both were inspired by Albert Dürer's picture, or that of any other Italian or Flemish painter dealing with the scene.

As a fact, El Greco was mystical, idealistic, sparkling, fantastic, passionate, and dramatic ; Velazquez was realistic, lyrical, calm, harmonious and contemplative. El Greco lavishes light ; Velazquez distributes



FIG. 522.—CANDELABRUM.  
(Cathedral of Toledo.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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it like a precious commodity. El Greco spends himself in over-active, and therefore unequal, production. Velazquez works prudently, never repeats himself, attacks some fresh problem in every new work, and progresses in a continuous movement. El Greco was an artist among artists before Rembrandt; Velazquez was unique, the darling of the gods, the miracle of genius.

*Iron and Bronze.*—The iron gates of the Cathedral of Palencia, by Francisco de Villalpando, one of the architects of the Alcazar of Toledo, those of Pamplona, Saragossa, and Cuenca, by Fernandez de Arenas (1557), of Salamanca, Burgos, Toledo and Seville (Fig. 512), the screen of a tomb in the Cathedral of Salamanca,

the gratings over the windows of certain houses bear witness to perfect taste in the artists who prepared the models, and unrivalled skill among the smiths, founders, and chasers who executed them.

*Wood.*—Artistic joinery also achieved great perfection. Among works of irreproachable conception and technical execution we may instance the new choir-stalls of the Cathedral of Palencia by Pedro de Guadalupe (1519), those of the Parral by Bartolomé Fernandez (Archaeological Museum, Madrid), the door of the Cathedral of Burgos which communicates with the cloisters, that of the sacristy in the Cath-



FIG. 523.—ARMOURERS OF ENQUI (NAVARRE). SHIELD OFFERED BY THEM TO PHILIP IV.

(Armeria of Pamplona.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

dral of Cuenca, and the rich wood-work of the sacristy in the Cathedral of Murcia.

*Goldsmith's Work.*—Nor can we fail to admire the silver *custodias* (monstrances) of the Cathedrals of Barcelona and Gerona in the purest Gothic style, those in the Cathedrals of Cadiz, Cordova (1513), Toledo (1524), that of the convent of San Benito de Sahagún by Enrique de Arfe (Fig. 515), those of the Cathedrals of Santiago and Medina de Rio Seco by his son Antonio, that of Palencia by Juan de Benavente (Fig. 516), that of Cadiz by A. Suarez (Fig. 513), and of Jaen by Juan de Ruis, croziers (Fig. 514), processional crosses (Fig. 517), chalices, paxes (Fig. 518),

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tabernacles, altar-frontals, lamp-stands and statues. The group and the small figures in the *Capilla de Santa Cecilia* at Jaen make it a most accomplished work.

*Embroidery.*—The art of painting with the needle was exercised by embroiderers whose orphreys are among the marvels preserved in the Cathedrals (Figs. 519, 520).

*Furniture.*—Credence tables and coffers, beds, and candelabra (Fig. 522), are in the French Renaissance style with Plateresque accents. The seats have sometimes a *Mudejar* character, the wood being encrusted with mother-of-pearl, ivory and silver (Fig. 521).

*Arms.*—Though fine armour was often ordered from Italy and Germany, Spain also trained smiths and chasers by no means inferior to the foreigners in technical skill and talent (Figs. 523, 524), and Toledo excelled in the manufacture of swords, daggers and poniards.

*Faience.*—The art of faience as applied to architectural decoration underwent a complete change. The mosaic work practised by the Moors—a slow and onerous process—was superseded by the method of *cuerda seca*. It consisted of printing upon squares of porcelain designs separated by deeper grooves, and running into these grooves a paste of a neutral tint which, when fired, prevented the intermingling of the colours laid by the brush in the intermediate spaces. At first potters imitated geometrical figures, but from the sixteenth century onwards, they were rather



FIG. 524.—ARMOUR MADE AT  
PAMPELUNA.

(Armeria of Pampeluna.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 525.—SEVILLE. SANTA PAULA.

TOMB OF LEÓN ENRIQUEZ.

(Author's Phot.)

inspired by brocades. These facings, half *Mudejar*, half *Plateresque*, are to be found in the chapels of the Cathedral of Saragossa, and in several Sevillian churches (Fig. 525). *Cuerda seca* was soon abandoned in its turn; design emancipated itself, the palette was enriched, and the geometrical figures and flat damascening were succeeded by veritable paintings strengthened by a brown line and relieved against backgrounds of creamy white, or fairly strong yellow. The oratory of Isabella the Catholic in the Alcazar of Seville, and more especially the altar-piece, afford examples of this new technique. Over the altar is a picture formed by squares of porcelain joined (Fig. 526). The

exquisitely graceful composition represents the *Visitation*. At the feet of the Virgin we read: *Francisco Niculoso me fecit*, and on the pilaster to the left: 1508. The difference in style between the principal panel, which is Flemish in inspiration, the panel placed on the front of the altar, which is Florentine in character, and certain *Mudejar* details allow us once again to recognise the various sources which inspired Spanish painters and decorators.

*Painted Glass*.—The painted glass bears witness to great professional dexterity. The technique is French; in composition, drawing, and colour it is allied to the schools which furnished



FIG. 526.—FRANCISCO NICULOSO PISANO,  
VISITATION.

(Reredos of the Oratory of Isabella of  
Castile, Alcazar, Seville.)  
(Phot. Beuchy.)

the cartoons. The Cathedral of Barcelona still possesses some windows by Bermejo executed by Fontanet in 1495. Others may be admired at Burgos, Toledo, Saragossa, Avila, Segovia and Granada. A window in the Cathedral of Seville, placed above the door of Los Palos, represents the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian. But it is Charles V. dressed in the fashion of his day who serves as a target. Under the Emperor's feet we read the monogram of the artist: A. Y. V., that is to say, Arñao y Vergara. Begun in 1535, it was finished in 1572.

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FIG. 527.—JUAN RAMIREZ. NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR.  
(Saragossa.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

## CHAPTER VII

### EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*Borromini and Churriguera.—Neo-Plateresque Architecture; Interpenetration of the French and Spanish Styles; Pseudo-Classical Architecture.—Palaces; Theatres; Bridges.—Sculpture; Decadence; Common characteristics and distinctive traits of the various Schools: Conclusion.—Painting.—Minor Arts; Royal Tapestry and Pottery Factories.*

TOWARDS the year 1620, so-called Borrominesque architecture—which was really anterior to Borromini (1599–1667)—had appeared in Spain. Crescenzi, the author of the Escorial Pantheon and a portion of Buen Retiro, is held responsible for its introduction. The havoc worked by the Borrominesque style was the more far-reaching in that Crescenzi, appointed successively Superintendent of the Council of Works and Gardens (Oct. 14, 1630), Marquis de la Torre, and Grand Cross of Santiago, had surrounded himself with a pleiad of Italian sculptors, goldsmiths, founders and chasers, and that, by virtue of his commanding position, he was able to impose these at will till his death (1660). Upon the disappearance of Crescenzi, the Plateresque style, which the Italians had revived, emerged from the lethargy into which it had fallen, but it revived only to decline definitely.

The Neo-Plateresque style is already manifest in the Chapel

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of San Isidoro Labrador adjoining San Andres, Madrid (1657–1663), and constructed by Sebastian Herrera Barnuevo. White, red, yellow and green marbles are lavished upon it. Fruit and flowers are wreathed on the columns, enframe the angles on doors and windows, load the plinths and entablatures. But San Andres is classical in comparison with San Luis at Madrid, built by Jose Ximenes

Donoso (1628–1690). Other buildings in the same florid style are the following: the gilded Chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad at San Isidoro el Real, Madrid, the west front of the Cathedral of Murcia (eighteenth century) by Jaime Bort (Fig. 528), the door of San Andres at Valencia (Fig. 529), the famous transparency of the Cathedral of Toledo by Narciso Tomé, the door of the hospital of San Fernando at Madrid (Fig. 530), and the sacristy of the Carthusian monastery at Granada, the furniture of which, made of rare woods inlaid with ivory, tortoiseshell, and silver, cost Fray José Manuel Vasquez thirty years of labour.

These buildings are all characterised by bristling façades, undulating entablatures, interrupted pediments, reversed volutes and balusters, a profusion of flowers, shells, and misplaced or insignificant ornaments, and, in the case of a chapel or an altar, by lavish adornments of onyx, agate, jasper, lapis lazuli and bronze.

We must further add to the list of Neo-Plateresque buildings the sumptuous enlargement of the façade of the



FIG. 529.—VALENCIA. SAN ANDRÉS.

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 528.—JAIME BORT. WEST FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF MURCIA.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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Seminario Conciliar of Salamanca, which Fernando de Casas y Nova raised in front of the *Gloria* of Santiago (1738). Resting upon the massive base and the gigantic staircase which unites the Plaza Mayor with the level of the Cathedral, it makes a fine effect, though it is out of harmony with the rest of the building (Fig. 531).

We shall note that none of the buildings enumerated were due to the artist who is held responsible for the extravagances of the Neo-Plateresque style, and that their official sponsor, Don José Churriguera, was among the most reticent of the Churrigueresques. Appointed architect of the royal palaces by Charles II, he gave the exact measure of his talent in the convent of San Cayetano at Madrid. His best pupils were his two sons, Jerónimo and Nicolás, and Andrés and Jerónimo García de Quinoñes. The masterpiece of the sons of Churriguera was the cupola of Santo Tomás at Madrid, and that of the Quinoñes brothers (1720-1733), the Plaza Mayor of Salamanca (Fig. 532), which by its dimensions (74 by 78 metres), its regularity and its richness is perhaps the finest in all Spain.

At the moment when the Churrigueresque style was triumphing, a grandson of Louis XIV ascended the throne of Spain. Philip V (1700-1724) summoned two French architects, René Carlier and Etienne Boutelou, and numerous decorators to build the palace of San Ildefonso (La Granja, near Segovia). The relations between France and Spain, which had become very constant since the accession of Louis XIV, had created such



FIG. 531.—FERNANDO DE CASAS Y NOVA. BASILICA OF SANTIAGO. (Façade built in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century.)

(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)



FIG. 530.—MADRID. FAÇADE OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAN FERNANDO. (Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 532.—QUINOÑES. PLAZA MAYOR  
OF SALAMANCA.  
(Author's Phot.)

not deserve this excess of blame. Commissioned to produce a combination of the Escorial and Saint-Cyr, and forced to work on a steep declivity, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, Carlier solved the problem with a good deal of skill.

On Christmas night in the year 1734, the royal palace of Madrid was destroyed by fire. Philip V. entrusted the rebuilding to a Sicilian architect, Felipe de Jubara or Juvarra, a pupil of Bernini and Fontana. But Queen Elizabeth Farnese, who feared to see the royal treasury involved in lavish expenditure, created so many difficulties that Juvarra died of grief. He was succeeded by a native of Turin, Battista Sacchetti, and the foundation-stone was laid on April 7, 1737. The construction

close affinities between the architects of the two countries that the French artists confined themselves to calming the Spanish style, while in France the lofty style lost some of its rigidity under the influence of the Churrigueresque and developed into Rococo. This explains the survival of a modified Churrigueresque in the palace of San Ildefonso (Fig. 533), and in the huge convent of the Salesas Reales, Madrid (1750–1758), now the Law Courts, built by René Carlier for Doña María Barbara de Braganza. There is a proverbial saying at Madrid to this effect: *barbara reina, barbara obra, barbara gusto, barbero gasto* (wild queen, wild work, wild taste, wild expense). The Salesas Reales does



FIG. 533.—RENÉ CARLIER AND ÉTIENNE BOUTELOU.  
PALACE OF SAN ILDEFONSO.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 534.—JUAN RAMIREZ. NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR.  
(Saragossa.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

a Sevillian painter, Herrera el Mozo. His successors

of this palace had a decisive influence on the Spanish arts. The result was that Spain abandoned a style discredited by its excesses at the very time when France was adopting an elegant and chastened form of it.

Ventura Rodriguez, in whom the new tendencies were incarnated, was born in 1717 at Ciempozuelos. When he was barely thirty-two, he made his *début* at Madrid with the Church of San Marcos, and five years later Juan Ramirez, who had been appointed architect of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Saragossa, chose him as his collaborator. The building had been begun in 1681, on the plans of

a Sevillian painter, Herrera el Mozo, who aspired to imitate Saint Peter's at Rome. His successors demolished part of the church, concentrated their efforts on a more practicable design, and built the façade in the formal style then in vogue (Fig. 527). Nevertheless, when they had to erect the *templete* in which the miraculous image of the Virgin was to be enshrined, Ventura Rodriguez raised a veritable Churrigueresque monument, in which gratings of solid silver, gilded bronzes, precious marbles, fleshy angels, shells, garlands and fleecy clouds vie with the crowns, jewels and draperies of the Virgin del Pilar, but are out of keeping with the style of the nave (Fig. 534). Meanwhile (1758) Rodriguez had made designs in a Churrigueresque manner tempered by



FIG. 535.—LOGROÑO. PALACE OF THE DUQUE DE LA VICTORIA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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neo-Classicism for the northern and eastern façades of the Cathedral of Santiago, and had finished the stone casket in which the Romanesque basilica has been enclosed. These façades are known as those of the *Azabacheria* (quarter of the jet-cutters) and the *Literatos* (men of letters); the Holy Door is in the centre of the latter. Did Rodriguez regret these concessions later in life? We are inclined to think so when we consider the façades of the cathedrals of Lugo (1769) and Pampeluna (1780), models of dryness and academic correctness.

Two other architects held distinguished positions in the last half of the eighteenth century: General Sebastiani, an engineer officer, and Juan Villanueva. General Sebastiani was haunted by Imperial Rome. He made a copy of the Pantheon in San Francisco el Grande (1761-1784), and sought inspiration in the triumphal arches for the gate of Alcalá (1778).

Juan Villanueva (born in 1739) went to Italy for his artistic education, came back to Spain and built at Madrid the oratory of the Caballero de Gracia, the Observatory, and the Prado Museum, his finest work.

The evolutions of the official architecture of the eighteenth century were so rapid that the religious and civil buildings in which the various tendencies of the school are manifested have been grouped together. Domestic buildings, on the other hand, with the exception of a few palaces



FIG. 536.—MURCIA. HOUSE OF THE PAINTER VILLARIS.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 537.—BARCELONA. HOUSES WITH PAINTED FAÇADES.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 538.—MADRID. TOLEDO BRIDGE.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

Calle Mayor, all at Madrid. Each has an immense doorway, large, handsome windows, a vigorous cornice, made of the grey granite of the Escorial, neither profusely ornamented nor over-austere. We recognise the general style of the period, modified, no doubt, by the difficulty of elaborate carving in such a material as granite. On the other hand, a taste for decoration is revealed in middle-class houses. It is seen in Italianate frescoes akin to those of the Plaza Reale at Madrid (Fig. 537) and in the decorations and open work in plaster which adorn brick buildings (Fig. 536). The arrangements are simple and methodical, the rooms high and spacious, in harmony with the climate and the traditions of the Renaissance in Spain. The fine staircases, with broad steps and straight flights broken by landings, the timber ceilings, the wainscots of wood or faience, the movable hangings or simple coatings of whitewash or plaster in modest dwellings, the doors with crossed panels, all remained in use.

Until the end of the sixteenth century dramatic entertainments were given in courts (*corrales*), surrounded by houses and provided with platforms set against the walls. These arrangements

—that of the Duque de la Victoria at Logroño, for instance (Fig. 535)—are distinguished by a certain continuity in the general form. This applies to the Academy of San Fernando, to the Ministry of the Hacienda which precedes it, to the house of the President of the Council (Carrera San Jerónimo) and to a mansion at the entrance of the



FIG. 539.—LEON. BRIDGE AND MONASTERY OF SAN MARCOS.  
(Author's Phot.)

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were merely regularised when the theatres de la Cruz and del Príncipe were built at Madrid. The interior was divided into five parts: the *aposentos*, two rows of boxes corresponding to the galleries of the ancient *corrales*; the *cazuela*, an amphitheatre at the back, to which only closely-veiled women were admitted; the *gradas*, which were at the sides, underneath the boxes; the *patio*, the equivalent of the present pit, in which the spectators had to stand; and the *luneta*, immediately under the roof, which replaced the terraces on the tops of the houses.

There is an interesting feature in the arrangement of the theatre of Buen Retiro; the back could

be removed, and the park united with the stage. This made it possible to introduce troops on horseback or on foot into the action, and to give a royal magnificence to the scene.

*Artistic Works.*—The durability of the bridges in Spain is a testimony to the science of Spanish engineers. The majority are of stone, some of brick, and a few of wood. Several have real artistic merit, among them two at Madrid, the Segovia Bridge due to Juan de Herrera, and the Toledo Bridge constructed in 1732 (Fig. 538). I will also note the bridges of Leon (Fig. 539), the Puente Real of Valencia and the Puente Nuevo of Ronda (1761), a gigantic arch raised 200 metres above the Guadalquivir by a Malagan architect, José Martín de Aldeguela (Fig. 540).

The end of the seventeenth century saw the rise of a school of sculpture at



FIG. 541.—SALVADOR CARMONA.  
CHRIST SCOURGED.

(Cathedral of Salamanca.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 540.—JOSÉ MARTÍN DE ALDEGUELA.

BRIDGE OF RONDA.

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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Madrid which soon succeeded that of Valladolid. Alonso de los Ríos seems to have been the principal agent in this supersession. Among his disciples were Juan de Villanueva, the two brothers Ron, and Salvador Carmona (Fig. 541). At the death of Luis Ron, Carmona undertook the direction of the studio, of which he was the leading spirit, and made so prosperous a school of it that, in 1752, Ferdinand IV. incorporated it with the school founded by Olivieri in 1744, and included both in the royal establishments. This was the origin of the famous Academy of San Fernando.



FIG. 542.—JUAN ALONSO VILLABRILLE.  
HEAD OF SAINT PAUL.  
(Museum of Valladolid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 543.—FRANCISCO SALZILLO. ANGEL OF  
THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE.  
(Church of Jesus, Murcia.)  
(Author's Phot.)

We must further include among distinguished sculptors of the eighteenth century Juan Alonso Villabril (Fig. 542), Felipe del Corral, Carlos Sala, Alfonso Bergaz, Felipe de Castro, Francisco Gutierrez, Manuel Alvarez, Torcuato Ruiz del Peral, the last disciple of the successors of Alonso Cano, and at Murcia, Francisco Salzillo y Alcaraz, whose talents, though undeniable, do not deserve the exaggerated praises lavished on him by historians. Salzillo's body of work was too vast—nearly 1,800 statues and statuettes by him have been catalogued—not to have

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FIG. 544.—GOYA. MARCHIONESS DE ESPEJA.  
(Collection of the Duc de Valencia.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

among these was Robert Michel, who had come to Madrid in 1752, after studying sculpture at Lyons, Montpellier and Toulouse. Appointed director of the Academy of San Fernando, he collaborated, as statuary, in all the civil and religious buildings of the reign of Charles V.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that sculpture should have turned more and more to secular beauty. The angels are modelled from laughing girls; the saints have the grace of Aphrodite; the nuns are like charming women of the world in disguise. Bernini lives again, and under the veil and scapulary of the Carmelites, his *Saint Teresa in Ecstasy* reappears. It is hardly necessary to add that these were works of decadence, alien to a tradition, which, far from inclining

shown some weakness. With but a few exceptions, the *St. Jerome de la Nora*, a *St. Veronica*, and the *Angel of the Garden of Olives* (Fig. 543), it appears cold and affected.

In addition to these representatives of national tradition, Spain at this period produced a pleiad of sculptors whose style is indistinguishable from that of their Italian or French *confrères*. This attenuation of distinctive artistic character is to be attributed to the habit sculptors had formed of finishing their studies in Rome, to the government subventions given for this purpose, and to the favour shown to foreign artists. Prominent



FIG. 545.—GOYA. PORTRAIT OF THE  
FAIR BOOKSELLER.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 546.—GOYA. PORTRAIT OF THE PAINTER DON BAYEN.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

national, and the differences of lie rather in choice of subject than in style properly so called. The North inclined to dramatic and sanguinary subjects. The South, though it did not disdain them, rather borrowed than created them. Delighting in feminine beauty, perfect types of which were always to hand, it showed a predilection for the happier years of the Virgin, and the more glorious episodes of her life. Is it fanciful to think that the works produced in northern studios reflect the melancholy of the granites of Castille? Was the art of the South impregnated by the warm colour of the leaves and flowers that grew between the crystal of the streams and the dark blue of the sky, or did it also retain a persistent reflection of Oriental traditions?

to the meretricious, had always been distinguished by purity of taste and the worship of form.

Taking it as a whole, it is with the French schools that the Spanish school of sculpture has most affinities; but it retained its religious sentiment longer than these, and its fidelity to painted statuary. The great masters showed by their skilful treatment of marble that their predilection for wood and polychromy was due neither to ignorance nor incapacity. To their minds, as to those of Greek artists, colour, far from injuring form, enhanced its beauty. In this respect, Spanish sculpture is one, and truly

style between North and South



FIG. 547.—GOYA. PORTRAIT OF GUILLEMARDET.  
(The Louvre.) (Phot. Giraudon.)

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The Madrid school of painting succeeded to that of Seville, and continued without glory a career on which it had entered without splendour, when Philip V., anxious to reanimate the arts of Spain, summoned certain French masters to the capital.

Among those who responded to the king's invitation were René Antoine Houasse, sent by Lebrun, and his son Michel-Ange Houasse (1675-1730). Jean Ranc, Rigaud's best pupil, and later, Louis Michel Vanloo, successively held the post of first painter to the king. At the same period, Vantivelli, Amiconi, Corrado, Procaccini, and the Tiepolos arrived from Italy, and frankness, sincerity and a careful study of nature were succeeded by mannerism, dexterity and convention.

Raphael Mengs (1728-1779), an Italianised German, and the most gifted representative of academicism before David might, perhaps, have stemmed the tide of decadence had he not, like the Carracci, allowed himself to be seduced by a disastrous eclecticism which paralysed his efforts.

The only artist of any distinction during the second half of the eighteenth century was Luis Menendez (Naples, 1716; Madrid, 1780), the son and pupil of Francisco Antonio, the miniaturist of Philip V. He painted a few religious pictures and some good portraits, but of all his work, his still-life pieces and pictures of fruit contributed most to his reputation. The Prado owns no fewer than thirty-nine of these subjects



FIG. 548.—GOYA. MARIA LUISA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 549.—GOYA. THE DECLARATION.  
(Collection of the Marquis de la  
Romairo.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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called in Spanish *bodegon* and *frutero*. They are generally well composed and have admirable qualities.

In the reign of Charles II. (1759–1788), the Italian influence declined and, save in the domain of decorative painting, where Tiepolo and his pupils still reigned, the favour of the public was bestowed on Boucher, Lancret, Watteau, Nattier, Fragonard, Ollivier and Traverse.

Barthélemy Ollivier, a native of Marseilles, imitated Pater; Charles de la Traverse, attached to the suite of the Marquis d'Ossun, the French ambassador, had studied under Boucher. During his sojourn in Madrid, he formed a number of pupils. The best of these, Luis Paret y Alcazar (Madrid, 1747–1799), made a reputation as a painter of popular festivities, *romarias* in which the whole populace makes merry, intoxicated with joy and pleasure. Paret also painted the ports of Spain after the manner of Joseph Vernet, flowers, and scenes from palace life, and illustrated various works, such as the *Parnassus* of Quevedo, and the *Novels* of Cervantes.

The period was one of hesitation, and artists were groping for their path, when Goya (Fig. 554), one of the greatest, and also one of the most individual of Spanish painters, made his appearance. Goya y Lucientes (Fuente de Todos, 1746; Bordeaux, 1828) had studied at Saragossa, under José Lujan Martinez, founder of the

Academy of San Luis, before he came to Madrid to help his friend, Francisco Bayen, in the decoration of the royal palace under the direction of Mengs. In 1773 he went to Italy, studied the works of the masters, tried to discover their technical methods instead of merely copying them, and came



FIG. 550.—GOYA. LA MAJA DESNUDA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)



FIG. 551.—GOYA. LA MAJA VESTIDA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Hachette.)

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*Portrait of Isabel Corbo de Porcel.*  
Goya. (London. National Gallery.)







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FIG. 552.—GOYA. LA TORENA.

(Lazaro Collection, Madrid.)

back to his native country after an absence of two years. Mengs, who wished to revive the Santa Barbarba tapestry manufacture, summoned the young painter and commissioned him to compose a series of cartoons, forty gay and graceful subjects. After 1791, Goya treated another series of twenty-two little pictures of popular subjects for the Duque d'Ossuna with no less spirit and freshness, but with a more careful technique. The colour of these is light and pearly; the types are piquantly studied. In the *Funeral*, the *Inquisition*, the *Mad-House*, we recognise the rebellious spirit and the sense of tragedy which characterise those satirical drawings by the master known as the *Caprichos*, his etchings, and his historical compositions. The portraits of the *Infante Don Luis and his Family*, of the *Count of Florida Blanca* (1783), of *General Urrutia* (1798) of the *Duke of*

*Alva* (1799), of the *Family of Charles IV.* (1800), of the *Marchioness de Espega* (Fig. 544), of *Isabel Corbo de Porcel* (Pl. IV.), of the *Fair Bookseller* (Fig. 545), the equestrian portraits of *Charles IV.* and of the *Queen Maria Luisa* as a Colonel of the Guards (Fig. 548) recall Rembrandt and Velazquez in some respects, while the *Young Man in Gray*, portrait of the painter Bayen (Fig. 546), and even that of *Ferdinand Guillemardet*, French ambassador at Madrid in 1798 (Fig. 547), are more akin to the works of Reynolds and Hogarth. Goya used to say that he owed everything to Rembrandt, Velazquez and nature. From the last-named he had learnt sincerity, and he practised it without compromise, whatever the chagrin of his models,



FIG. 553.—LOPEZ. QUEEN MARIA CHRISTINA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Anderson.)

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FIG. 554.—LOPEZ. PORTRAIT OF GOYA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

era (Fig. 552), nor any more charming than the sensuous *manolas*, who, in the cupola of the Chapel of La Florida, near Madrid, contemplate St. Anthony raising a dead person, and the angels with delicately rouged faces who uphold the dome, and whom the artist painted from actresses famous for their beauty. Goya has been reprobated for having opened Paradise to very profane celebrities, and indeed, no Spanish artist ever had less religious sense than he. The *Triumph of the Virgin* in Nuestra Señora del Pilar, the *Saint Bernardine* in San Francisco el Grande, the *Saint Francis Borgia* of the Cathedral of Valencia are cold and pagan studies.

Goya's failure to express a state of celestial purity and beatitude were due perhaps to the fact that with him imagination never took the place of perception. Just as he never disguised the truth, even

and whatever their social rank. The portrait of the *Sister of Charles IV.* bears witness to this, no less than Maria Luisa's harassed face. We may therefore believe in the artist's truth when he incarnates the seductions of the Spanish woman in his young beauties (Fig. 549) and his *Majas* (Figs. 550, 551). The *Maja desnuda* is not perhaps beautiful in the classic manner, but she is none the less dangerous, with her pearly skin, her slender hips and bust, her luxuriant hair, and her voluptuous eyes. No more gallant apparition can be imagined than the *Young Tor-*



FIG. 555.—PORCELAIN OF THE ANCIENT  
FACTORY OF BUEN RETIRO.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

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in dealing with princely sitters, so he conceived of Paradise through the theatre, and peopled it with the angels he would have liked to find in it. His pictures also reflect two extremes of the political life of his country. At the beginning of his career, he rendered to perfection the delights of life in Spain in the reigns of Charles III. and Charles IV. This was the period of the *Walk in Andalusia*, *Tennis-playing*, the *China-Shop*, *Harvest*, *The Florist*, *Blind Man's Buff*, *Washerwomen on the Manzanares*, *The Swing*. Suddenly the horizon darkened, the storm threatened and broke, and Goya set himself to depict with brush and burin the tragedies which from the insurrection of Aranjuez to the end of 1814 steeped his country in blood. Whether as painter or engraver, he attenuated neither the savage ferocity nor the sombre heroism of the soul of Spain. The so-called *Dos de Mayo* (2nd of May) pictures show that he had come down from heaven to hell without transition or evocation of a vanished past.

The last painter we can refer to this period was Vicente Lopez y Portana (Valencia, 1772; Madrid, 1850) a portraitist of great talent, among whose sitters were the Duque de l'Infantado, Queen Cristina, and Goya (Figs. 553, 554).



FIG. 556.—TALAVERA PORCELAIN VASE.

(Prado Museum.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 557.—HERCULES DELIVERING HESIONE. PORCELAIN OF MONCLOA.

(Prado Museum.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)

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In 1720, Philip V. founded at Madrid the manufactory of Santa Engracia, which Charles III. afterwards encouraged. Here the tapestries for the Escorial were made from Goya's designs. The creation of the china factories of Buen Retiro, Alcora de Talavera and Moncloa (Figs. 555-557) were due to the same royal initiative. These produced charming works, which occasionally recall the excellence of Spain in polychrome sculpture, but their technique remained purely French. Decorative sculptors and painters of every kind also achieved great proficiency (Fig. 558), and like the potters, followed closely in the footsteps of their *confrères* on the other side of the Pyrenees.

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FIG. 558.—VASE  
(Cathedral of Burgos.) (Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 559.—TOLEDO GATE AT MADRID.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

## CHAPTER VIII

### NINETEENTH CENTURY

*Architecture: School of Barcelona.—Sculpture.—Painting.—Period of artistic Prosperity.—Conclusion.*

THE nineteenth century inaugurated the era of *pasticci* in Europe. Artistic Spain, who, in spite of contact with Italy and France, had kept her individuality, was carried away by the current. Among the new churches of Madrid, the Buen Suceso is in the Gothic style with a dome upon a drum over the crossing ; San Firmin de los Navarros is in the *Mudejar* style ; the celebrated church of Atocha, the *Pantéon de hombres ilustres*, is very rich Romanesque ; the future Cathedral, Nuestra Señora de la Almudena, the building of which from the plans of the Marquis de Cuba has been in progress for several years, is also Romanesque. Finally, the beautiful basilica of Covadonga (Fig. 560), built opposite the cave where Pelagius gathered together the mountaineers who inaugurated the re-conquest about the year 718, recalls the religious buildings of the thirteenth century.

A list of the civil buildings would be a long one. Those which mark stages on the road will sufficiently indicate its trend.



FIG. 560.—BASILICA OF COVADONGA.  
(Phot. Hauser y Menet.)

The Bank of Spain is the work of Eduardo de Avaro and Severiano Sainz de la Lastra. The Ministry of the *Fomento* is rectangular on plan with a salient motive in the centre of its imposing sides, and corner pavilions. The National Library by Jareno (1866–1894) also comprises the Natural History Museum and the Archaeological Museum. The Library proper, lighted by open ceilings, and consisting entirely of iron shelves and floors, realises technical perfection.

These buildings, all excellent in style, do credit to modern Spanish architecture, but with the exception of the Plaza, they have no national character. Broadly speaking, the same may be said of the private houses. The large glazed balconies (*miradores*) alone remind the traveller that he has crossed the Pyrenees. In Northern Spain, *miradores* have become so important that they form a veritable screen in front of the houses (Fig. 591).



FIG. 561.—LA CORUÑA. SOPORTALES  
(ARCADES).  
(Author's Phot.)

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I have deliberately set aside Barcelona, Vich, and the adjacent towns. The desire of the Catalans to owe nothing to the rest of Spain was incarnated in Antonio Gaudi, an artist of a strange, dreamy, highly individual temperament. To him we owe a patient study of logical architectonic formulæ under their apparent illogicality, the application of which was sometimes crowned with real success. His masterpiece is the Church of the Sagrada Familia, now in process of construction in one of the suburbs of Barcelona. The original design is Gothic in inspiration. In the few completed portions detail is studied with scrupulous attention and rare skill. The North Porch, which symbolises the Creation, is also built on Gothic lines. But the author, by way of rendering the Biblical chaos, has hung stalactites from the constructive groins, and even imitated exudations congealed by the cold. Statues, exquisite decorative motives, flights of birds, and strange beasts mingle with the icicles. Antonio Gaudi has faith. He has communicated it to his collaborators, sculptors, decorators, and dressers of stone, and all have seconded him with meritorious ardour and real talent. A work of his which all Catalans admire, because

they no longer question Gaudi's talent, is the Güell Park. The outer facings of the walls, made in a mosaic formed of coarse fragments of porcelain tiles enframed in nondescript architecture, are calculated rather to astonish than to please.

The pupils and imitators of the master are very numerous. Josep Puig y Cadafalch, Luis



FIG. 562.—RODRIGUEZ AYUSO.  
(Plaza de Toros, Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 563.—LAW COURTS, BARCELONA.  
(Phot. Toldra.)

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FIG. 564.—PUIG Y CADAFALCH,  
HOUSE, PASEO DE SAN JUAN,  
BARCELONA, PATIO.  
(Phot. A. Toldra, Vizaz.)

Domenech y Montaner, Enrique Sagnier y Villavecchia, Artigas, Pedro Falquez y Urpi all strive after architectural sincerity and distinction (Figs. 564, 565). Some affect the Plateresque style of Salamanca, others return to Gothic; others again revive the old Catalan style, notably in country houses, and finally, some borrow ornaments from the French style of the thirteenth century. At Barcelona the Law Courts (Fig. 563) and the internal decorations of the Fine Arts Museum; at Vich, the Chapel of the Fathers, and throughout the province, houses of harmonious originality are exquisite in detail, and often charm by the simplicity of the general effect (Fig. 566). True, the work is not always equal to the endeavour; the

master and his pupils sometimes err through over-boldness. But it is the privilege of the true artist to provoke criticism.

Spanish statuary, especially at the beginning and in the middle of the nineteenth century, was academic. It was not till the end of the reign of Isabella II. that a breath from the Golden Century seemed to pass over it.

Among the artists of the first period were José Granjéa, statue of *Juan Alvarez de Mendizabal* (Plaza del Progreso, Madrid); José Ginés, *Spain Protecting the Arts* (Toledo Gate); Antonio Sala, *Monument to Cervantes* (Plaza des Cortes, Madrid); José Piquer y Durat, *Isabella II.* and *Don Francis of Assisi* (National Library), and a fine bust of the painter *Vicente Lopez* (San Fernando Museum); José Alvarez, *Isabel of Braganza* (Prado Museum); Ponciano Ponzano, *Sculptures on the Façade of*



FIG. 565.—PUIG Y CADAFALCH,  
HOUSE, PASEO DE GRACIA,  
BARCELONA.  
(Phot. A. Toldra, Vizaz.)

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*the Chamber of Deputies* ; Francisco Moratilla, *Faith, Hope and Charity* (National Library).

The sculptors who achieved a well-earned reputation during the second half of the nineteenth century form a numerous band, comprising Benlliure, *Statue of Maria Christina*, widow of Ferdinand VII. ; *Tomb of Gayarre* ; Manuel Oms, *Monument of Isabella the Catholic* (Fig. 568) ; Agustín Querol, *Statues on the Ministry of the Fomento*, *Tradition* (Fig. 567) ; Gerónimo Suñol (Catalan) a

*Statue of Columbus* (Plaza de Colón, Madrid) ; Ricardo Bellver, *Tomb of Cardinal Juan Martínez Siliceo* (Toledo), *The Fallen Angel* (Garden del Retiro, Madrid) ; Blay, *Tomb of Chavarri* (Bilbao), a work of great vigour ; Aniceto Marinas, *Monument of San Juan de Sahagún* (Salamanca) ; V. Vallmitjana, *Saint George* (National Library), the *Queen Regent*, mother of Alfonso XIII. (Museum of Modern Art) ; A. Vallmitjana, *Peasant Woman leading a Bull* (Museum of Modern Art) ;

FIG. 567.—AGUSTIN QUEROL.  
TRADITION.  
(Museum of Modern Art,  
Madrid.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 566.—VICH. HOUSE IN THE CATALAN STYLE. (Author's Phot.)



FIG. 568.—MANUEL OMS. ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC, MADRID.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 569.—EDUARDO BARRÓN. *NERO AND SENECA*.  
(Museum of Modern Art, Madrid.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

statues of Samso and Coullant Valera, inspired by the works of Gregorio Hernandez and Montañes (*sup. pp. 239-244*) have indisputable merit. Finally, the Tomb of Christopher Columbus (Fig. 570), by Melida, is a powerful and original work in which the prestige of colour is associated with majesty of form. The plinth, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metre high, is of polished white stone, while the figures and the coffin of bronze repoussé are polychrome, that is to say, gold, silver and bronze are combined in them under a variety of patinas.

The classical reaction initiated in France by David had its counterpart in Spain. But during the troubled years which followed the accession of Isabella II., there was a revival of the national genius. It may be that French Romanticism played a part in the movement. Madrid, where the new school was formed, has retained its principal works. They are: The *Obsequies of Don Alvaro de Luna*, by Eduardo Carro, *Isabella the Catholic's Will* (Fig. 571), the *Presentation of Don John of Austria to Charles V.*, by Eduardo Rosales; the *Prince de Viana* (Fig. 572), by Moreno Carbonero; *Joanna the Mad* (Fig. 573), and the *Surrender*

Eduardo Barrón, *Nero and Seneca*, plaster, slightly tinted (Fig. 569); Justo Gandarias, *Child with Duck* (Museum of Modern Art).

Whether of marble or bronze, none of the foregoing works are heightened with gold or colour. Yet Spain has not definitively abandoned polychrome sculpture. The restorations of José Piquer y Durat, the polychrome



FIG. 570.—MÉLIDA. *TOMB OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS*.  
(Cathedral of Seville.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 571.—E. ROSALES. THE WILL OF ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC.  
(Museum of Modern Art.)  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

roche, Gudin and Meissonier. Others the religious compositions of Overbeck.

The names of Madrazo, Zamacois, and Fortuny recall the official portraits executed by the first, the *King's Favourite* by the second, and the *Sacristy*, the *Antiquary*, the *Bibliophile*, the *Snake-Charmer* and the *Fantasia* of the third. Checa, whose early essays attracted so much attention, has fulfilled the hopes to which his *Chariot-Race*, and *Invasion of the Barbarians* (Fig. 576) gave birth.

In its latest manifestations, the Spanish School is concerned rather with realistic modern themes than with historical drama. This is shown in Teisidor's *Plaza del Palacio*, in Alvarez Sala's *Vow* (Fig. 574), in the *Barcelona, 1902* (a riot) and in the fine portraits of Ramon Casas, in Vicente Cinanda's *Strike*, in Melida y Alinari's *Communion of the Sisters*, in the picture of cats by Suquer y Lopez, called *At the Edge of the Precipice*, in Alejandrino Iruela y Arlola's *Beggar*, in Jiménez

of *Granada*, by Pradilla; *Flevit super illum* (Fig. 575), by E. Simonet; *The Death of Desdemona* (Fig. 578), by Muñoz Degrain; and the *Death of Lucan* (Fig. 577), by Garnelo y Alda.

Anecdotic painting and landscape developed simultaneously with history-painting. Many Spanish artists came to Paris, and frequented the famous studios of Delacroix, Ary Scheffer, Dela-

went to Rome to study



FIG. 572.—MORENO CARBONERO. THE PRINCE OF VIANA.  
(Museum of Modern Art.)

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FIG. 573.—PRADILLA. JOANNA THE MAD.  
(Museum of Modern Art.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

in Madrid the artists who have attracted most attention have been Santiago Rusiñol with his *Gardens of Aranjuez*, José Bermejo with his *Flower-sellers in Rome*, Joaquin Gonzalez Ibáñez with his *Siesta* (a study of the nude), Julio Romero de Torres, a Cordovan, with a *Musa gitana* mellowed by the sunlight of Titian and Giorgione, Eduardo Chicharro with a fine triptych representing the *Three Brides*, Tomás Muñoz Lucena with a *Grotto of the Albaicín*, Guillermo Gómez Gil with a *Sunset on the Sea*, Antonio Fillol y Granell with *Virgin Souls*, José Tapiro y Baro with Oriental subjects, Lino Casimiro Iborra with *Sheep coming out of the Fold*, Carlos Vásquez Ubeda with *A Vengeance*, Marcialiano Santa María with *Daughters of the Cid*.



FIG. 574.—ALVAREZ DE SOTO. THE VOW.  
(Museum of Modern Art.) (Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 575.—E. SIMONET. FLEVIT SUPER ILLAM.  
(Museum of Modern Art.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

Aranda's *Slave for Sale*, and A. Fabrés' *Moroccan Slave* (Museum of Modern Art), then again in Joaquin Sorolla's fine portraits (Fig. 580), in the pictures of Zuloaga (Figs. 581-583) and Emilio Sala (Fig. 579), in the ultra-Impressionist puzzles of Anglada, and in the illustrations of Daniel Vierge (Fig. 584).

At the latest exhibitions

This rapid survey shows the eclecticism of

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FIG. 576.—ULPIANO CHECA. THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS.  
(*Phot. Lacoste.*)

the new school. It adds lustre to the country of Velazquez by its conscientious effort, its probity, its persistent study of nature, its beauty of colour, and breadth and frankness of touch.

Before closing the artistic history of Spain, I would fain sum up the salient features of its great manifestations. In the first place, how are we to explain the irresistible attraction it exercises over all who study it? No doubt this is due in part to the pleasure, if not of working on virgin soil, at least of sowing on marvellously fertile ground. I also attribute it largely to the prolific unions which took place south of the Pyrenees between the arts of the East and the West. This long marriage of two civilisations which stand



FIG. 577.—GARNEJO Y ALDA. THE DEATH OF LUCAN. FRAGMENT.  
(Museum of Modern Art.) (*Phot. Lacoste.*)

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FIG. 578.—MUÑOZ DEGRAÍN. THE DEATH OF DESDEMONA.

(Museum of Lisbon.) (Author's Phot.)

for the thought of Europe and Asia has produced fruits, the strange flavour of which attracts and retains. Thus, in spite of the necessary limitations of a work intended as much for the traveller as the student, it has seemed essential to make a somewhat detailed enquiry into the origins of Spanish and Portuguese art, and to support it by graphic evidences. In the choice of illustrations, I have preferred quality to

quantity, and I have estimated quality by its historical as well as by its artistic interest. Moreover, generally speaking, long inventories, the elements of which dazzle the eyes just as they confuse the memory, have been carefully winnowed and summarised.

On the other hand, incursions calculated to facilitate research have been undertaken in the Persian East, in Asia, Africa and Musulman Europe, France, Italy, Sicily and the Christian Lower



FIG. 579.—EMILIO SALA. GREEK MUSIC.

(Mural Decoration, Casino of Madrid.)

(Phot. Thomas.)

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FIG. 580.—J. SOROLLA.  
PORTRAIT OF MARÍA SOROLLA.

Empire. Each of these countries played a part in the elaboration of Spanish art, and however slight it may have been, it has been recognised; however close the amalgam, it has been submitted to analysis.

After establishing the genesis of the arts of Spain, their progress and development, I have sought to determine the extent and profundity of their external action. These were very great, seeing that the germs of the Romanesque and Gothic architecture of Europe were born of the collaboration of the two Spains: the Spain of the Gospel and the Spain of the Koran. This is an essential feature of my work, a point developed for the first time, and one which necessitated the parallel between the Church and the Mosque to which Chapter II. is devoted. In this connection, I have been

obliged to restore to ancient Persia what belongs to ancient Persia, and to limit the respective domains of Coptic Egypt, Byzantium and Rome. Having isolated these, certain splendid rays of the Iranian sun have been shown illuminating Spain. Herein lay the strength and the robust qualities essential to creations destined to live long.

But grace was also to triumph in its turn. Its domain was in the *Mudejar* (*sup.* p. 151-154) and *Plateresque* (*sup.* 211-222) styles, and we have seen that the influence of the *Plateresque*, though less general than that of the *Proto-Romanesque*, nevertheless extended over a vast field of action.

The seventeenth century drew to an end; the drama-



FIG. 581.—ZULOAGA. CARMEN. PORTRAIT OF  
MME. BRÉVAL.  
(Metrop. Museum, New York.)  
(Phot. Vizzavona.)

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FIG. 582.—ZULOAGA. GREGORIO EL BOTERO  
(MAKER OF WINE-SKINS).

(Nichael Riabouchinski Collection, Moscow.  
(Phot. Vizzavona.)

writing it, I brought forth from monasteries admirable works of sculpture which were neglected or unknown, and having called attention to them, I further insisted on the brilliant survival of polychrome sculpture in Spain. The fruits of my labours were immediately appropriated for popularisation; showing that the trail was a good one. The same process is much to be desired for civil Plateresque architecture, the graceful compositions of which are among the glories of the country. Numerous landmarks have been planted; the road and its side-tracks are open; but I might have devoted the whole of my space to this exquisite art without exhausting it.

Portugal occupies but a modest place beside Spain. This difference is to be explained by the

tic poetry immortalised by such men as Guillen de Castro, Lope de Vega, and Calderon made its power felt on the other side of the Pyrenees; the artistic and literary relations established between France and Spain from the first dawn of the re-conquest gained strength, the Neo-Plateresque style followed on the path opened by dramatic art, and brought about in France the capricious evolution of the majestic decoration which had flourished under Louis XIV. (sup. p. 274).

In the domain of the arts of the Renaissance, this little volume will perhaps also lead the way to fresh researches. Before the obscurity of cathedrals and



FIG. 583.—ZULOAGA. PORTRAITS.  
(Luxembourg Museum, Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

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rare and brief periods when the Lusitanian arts shone with any lustre. It seems as if the stimulus of a military triumph had been necessary to them, and indeed, their most brilliant periods correspond with glorious successes of the Portuguese army or navy. Thus, in front of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra and the monastery churches of Alcobaça, of Thomar, of Batalha, and of Belém we find records of the taking of Coimbra (1064), and that of Santarem (1147), the victories of the Grand Master Gualdim Paes (1160), the victory of Algubarrota (1385), and, finally, the return of Vasco de Gama (1499). The indifference of historians to the arts of the Lusitanians has resulted in a lacuna much to be deplored. I have done my best to fill it.



FIG. 584.—DANIEL VIERGE.  
(Drawing from "Don Quixote.")

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FIG. 585.—THOMAR. CONVENTO DE CHRISTO, CLOISTERS DO CEMITARIO.  
(*Author's Phot.*)

## CHAPTER IX

### ART IN PORTUGAL

*Romanesque and Gothic Periods.—Religious Architecture: The Clunians and Cistercians.—Civil Architecture.—Military Architecture.—Origin of the so-called Manoelian Arts.—Churches.—Private Houses, Fortresses.—Mudéjar Architecture.—The Cintra Potteries.—Sculpture.—Splendour of the Schools of Painting.—Minor Arts.—Spanish Domination.—The so-called Arts of the Phillips.—Eighteenth Century: Return to the National Tradition.—Neo-Manoelian Style.—Churches, Palaces.—Sculpture.—Painting.—Minor Arts: Joinery, Goldsmith's Work, Pottery.—Nineteenth Century: Architecture.—Renaissance of Sculpture and Painting.—Minor Arts.*

**ROMANESQUE AND GOTHIC PERIODS.—Churches.**—The beginning of the artistic history of Portugal may be fixed at the period when Affonso Henriques, vassal of the King of Castille, obtained from the Pope through Saint Bernard, the enfranchisement of the provinces he ruled, and their constitution into an independent state. A few years afterwards, Santarem having been retaken from the Moors (March 15, 1147), the country was liberated as far as the Tagus, and the seat of government transferred to Coimbra.

The Sé Velha (old cathedral) of Coimbra (end of the twelfth century) is situated half way up the peak which was crowned by the citadel, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the *enceinte*, to the defence of which its embattled walls contributed (Fig. 586). It is a robust specimen of the Auvergnate Romanesque style, and probably a simplified copy of Santiago de Compostela. The church comprises a porch, a nave, transepts, side aisles with galleries, an apse and two apsidal chapels. Nave and transepts are covered with barrel vaults strengthened by *arcs-doubleaux*. Over the

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crossing is a cupola with a groined vault. The side aisles have also groined vaults. In the upper storeys, they have large double arches, and communicate with a triforium which rises over the entrance, and runs along the transepts. The rectangular piers are flanked by columns corresponding to the arcs-doubleaux, and to the arches which divide the nave from the aisles (Figs. 587, 588).

A peculiarity of the Sé Velha arises from the position of the cloisters, which the declivity of the site made it necessary to build some metres above the level of the nave. They are later than the church, and closely resemble those of Tarragona (Fig. 248). San Salvador and the Gate of San Thiago (Saint James) at Coimbra, the cloisters of the Monastery of Cellas, near Coimbra, built in the second half of the thirteenth century (Fig. 589), the chapel of the castle of Leiria, São Martinho de Cedofeita at Oporto, and the cathedral of Lisbon are also Romanesque, whatever their dates. Finally, in spite of the restorations it has undergone, I will add to this list the cathedral of Oporto.

In order to recognise the service rendered him by Saint Bernard, Afonso Henriques had invited the Cistercians to Portugal, and had given them the territory of Alcobaça (*sup.* p. 301). Begun in 1148, finished in 1222, and executed in a very simple style, Santa Maria of Alcobaça does not conform to the classic Cistercian type of Santas Creus and Las Huelgas (*sup.* pp. 130, 131; Fig. 249). It is more akin to the abbey church of Pontigny, founded by the reformed Benedictines



FIG. 587.—COIMBRA. SÉ VELHA.  
NAVE AND SIDE-AISLE. GOSPEL  
SIDE.

(*Author's Phot.*)



FIG. 586.—COIMBRA. SÉ VELHA.  
(*Phot. Lacoste.*)

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FIG. 588.—COIMBRA, SÉ VELHA.  
NAVE, EPISTLE SIDE.  
(Author's Phot.)

the side aisles and piercing large windows under their formerets, the architect of Alcobaça sought to improve the defective lighting of religious vaulted buildings, without compromising their solidity. Santa Maria is perhaps the earliest example of this solution. If the Cathedral of Poitiers (1162) and Saint Laurent of Parthenay, contemporary with the Portuguese Abbey Church, give the first indication of it, it was not completely worked out till fifty years later, in German and Austrian churches such as the Cathedrals of Ratisbon, Meissen and Minden, the church of Zwettl, Saint Stephen at Vienna, and Saint Elizabeth at Marburg, founded in 1236. The Monastery of Alcobaça has a number of cloisters. The finest, that of Dom Diniz (1279–1325), built at the south of the church in the time of the king whose name

in 1114, a year before Clairvaux. It consists of a nave of twelve bays, and two narrow aisles of the same height as the nave, of a transept bordered on one side by the return of the side aisle, of a circular apse, and an ambulatory with nine polygonal chapels, and of four square apsidal chapels, set in pairs on the arms of the transept. The pointed arch reigns in the vault, the semi-circular arch in the windows. The grandiose effect of Santa Maria is the greater because the Portuguese canons have the excellent habit of placing their stalls round the sanctuary. Thus the eye encounters no obstacle, but takes in the full extent of the nave. By giving the three aisles an equal height, reducing the usual width of



FIG. 589.—CLOISTERS OF CELLAS  
(Phot. Biel.)

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it bears (Fig. 590), and endowed with an upper storey by João de Castilho during the reign of Manuel I. (1495–1525), shows interesting analogies with that of Santa Creus (Fig. 249). Like this, it is completed by a chapter-house, and by a fountain connected directly with the arcades (Fig. 591). The huge kitchen of the monastery is traversed by a canal supplied by the waters of the Alçoa and crowned by a gigantic ventilating cone, similar to those in the kitchens of the Benedictine abbey of Fontevrault (Indre-et-Loire, twelfth century), and the abbey of Pampeluna (*sup. p. 144*).

In the course of the wars against the Moors, the Templars had acquired the site where Thomar rises. The Grand Master, Gualdim Paes, hastened to fortify the scarp which overhung it. The monastery church, built at the same time as the fortress, is

composed of a hall in the form of a prism of sixteen facets, with an octagonal apse in the middle (Fig. 592). The ambulatory is covered by a network of sixteen jointed groined arches, trapezoidal on plan, while the apse is crowned with a cupola on ribbed pointed arches which dominates the whole structure. It is commonly said that Thomar is unique. But in reality it belongs to the type of Templar-churches with a central sanctuary and an annular ambulatory which were themselves derived from the Kubbet - es - Sakhra, and consequently from the original Irano-Syrian type  $\beta$  (*sup. p. 38, and Figs. 81, 83*).



FIG. 591.—ALCOBAÇA. SANTA MARIA. FOUNTAIN OF THE CLOISTERS.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 590.—ALCOBAÇA. SANTA MARIA. CLOISTERS OF DOM DINIZ.  
(Author's Phot.)

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The Sé (Cathedral) of Evora was begun in 1186 (the town was recaptured in 1116), consecrated in 1204, and finished, or transformed towards the end of the thirteenth century (Figs. 593-595). Before it suffered the disastrous modifications of the chevet in 1718-1746 it consisted of a wide nave and narrow aisles, a transept, an apse, and four apsidal chapels. Nave and transept are covered by a cylindrical vault on pointed arches, strengthened by arcs-doubleaux; the side aisles have groined vaults. Finally, there is an octagonal dome on squinches at the crossing of the transept.

A very slight triforium, composed of five arches to each bay runs along the nave and transept (Fig. 505). The Cathedral of Evora must be included in the group of Spanish churches in which the Burgundy combined (*sup. p. 104, 105*). From these (*cf. churches of Saulieu and Paray-le-Monial*) its principal features are derived; the shallow triforium with numerous openings, and the pillars with clustered columns. But as at Tuy, at Siguëenza (Fig. 252) and at Coimbra (Fig. 586) the façade is flanked by massive square defensive towers; as at Notre Dame de Poitiers, Salamanca, and Zamora (Fig. 200) the dome has on the exterior the form, very rare south of the Pyrenees, of a pyramid consolidated at each angle by a pyramidal *tas-de-charge*. The church is further distinguished by the substitution of terraces for roofs.



FIG. 593.—EVORA. CATHEDRAL.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 592.—THOMAR. CONVENTO DE  
CHRISTO. SANCTUARY OF THE CHAPEL.

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FIG. 594.—EVORA. CATHEDRAL.  
CHEVET AND DOME.  
(Author's Phot.)

The ancient hostility between Spain and Portugal blazed out afresh at the death of Dom Fernando I. (1367-1383). Rather than recognise as their queen Dona Brites, daughter of the dead king, who had married Juan I. of Castille, the Cortes assembled at Coimbra elected an illegitimate son of Fernando's, then Grand Master of the military order of San Benito d'Aviz, under the title of João I. The result was a war. The Spaniards lost the battles of Atoleiros and Transcoro, and were finally defeated in a decisive engagement on August 14, 1385. The struggle ended on the plateau of Aljubarrota. It had begun further to the north, at a spot which received the name of Batalha.

The abbey church of Santa Maria da Victoria (Figs. 596, 597), which com-

memorated the first encounter, was built on a site which João I. chose himself, and made over to the Dominicans in 1388. Santa Maria, which is as large as the cathedrals of Paris, Toledo (Fig. 259), and Cologne, and almost equal in dimensions to the cathedrals of York and Milan, is characterised by a return to the Cistercian T plan (Fig. 597), by a nave, two wide side-aisles, a shallow transept, an apse and four apsidal chapels forming hemicycles. The most remarkable features of the interior are the ogival vaults with their doubleaux, diagonal arches, formerets and liernes, and on the exterior, the flying buttresses, united to the gutter by a large quadrilobe, the cornice, the quadrilobe parapet, and the fleur-de-lis crest. The part played by these balustrades is the more important in that the church of Batalha is roofed with terraces (Figs. 596, 599).



FIG. 595.—EVORA. CATHEDRAL.  
NAVE, EPISTLE SIDE.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 596.—BATALHA. SANTA MARIA DA VICTORIA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

crowned by a stellate cupola, similar to Burgos and Saragossa (Figs. 258, 267), while eight trapezoidal groined arches radiate around it, their longest sides bearing either upon one of the walls, or upon a squinch arch. The work is carried out with rare delicacy. I may add that the arcades round the central monument are formed by stilted Gothic arches, bordered with a lacework of lobes; and that on every side there are vestiges of painting.

The royal cloisters (Figs. 599–601), the arrangements of which were copied from those of Alcobaça (Fig. 591), extend on plan the whole length of the nave, on the gospel side (80 m. 30 cm.).

The lower storey, as well as the pavilion of the fountain, carried out with a magnificence unusual at the time, seem to be later by a few years than the church. The same may be said of the Chapter House, the most audacious building in all Spain and Portugal. After two abortive attempts, the master of the works succeeded in throwing from wall to wall a vault 28 metres square without intermediate supports. With this end in view, he put squinches in each angle, crowned the octagon thus constituted with a stellate cupola, and reinforced the whole with liernes (summit-ribs) and tiercerons (intermediate ribs).

The sepulchral chapel of João I., known as the Chapel of the Founder (Fig. 598), was finished in 1436. It is built on the same plan as the church of Thomar, with this difference, that it is square, and it corresponds to the first three bays of the right aisle. In the centre there is a sort of octagonal apse, higher than the surrounding space. It is those of the *crucerios* of

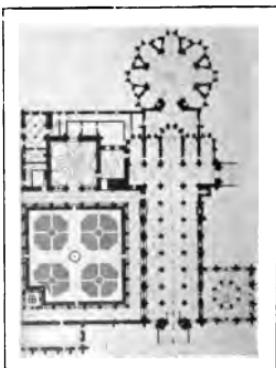


FIG. 597.—BATALHA. SANTA MARIA DA VICTORIA.

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The Imperfect Chapels (*Capellas Imperfeitas*) (Figs. 597, 617), more correctly described as *unfinished*, built in the axis, and as a continuation, of the chevet, were a part of the original plan, though they were not begun until the reign of Dom Duarte (1433-1438). No doubt, indeed, it was in order to connect them closely with the church that the architect substituted the Cistercian T plan for the apses, ambulatories, and circlet of radiating chapels of the abbey church of Alcobaça and the great Gothic cathedrals of Spain. The design comprised an octagonal funerary hall with a cupola 30 metres in diameter, and two storeys of lateral chapels corresponding to the faces of the octagon. As their construction was interrupted about 1520, they have retained the name of *Capellas Imperfeitas* (*inf. p. 319*).



FIG. 598.—BATALHA. SANTA MARIA. CHAPEL AND TOMB OF THE FOUNDER.  
(Phot. A. A. Rerra Ribeiro.)



FIG. 599.—BATALHA. SANTA MARIA. GENERAL VIEW OF CHURCH AND ROYAL CLOISTER.

(Author's Phot.)

In its general characteristics, the abbey church of Batalha belongs to the French Gothic group of the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, which includes the cathedrals of Amiens, Reims, Saint Urbain of Troyes, and notably the church reproduced in the *Parement de Narbonne*, in the Louvre. In certain details of secondary importance, it has affinities with English architecture. On the other hand, the plan of the church properly so-called is closely akin to the original Cistercian plan of the cathedral of Evora. But where it differs from the majority of its predecessors is in its general outline in the form of a key, the disposition of its chapels, and

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the substitution of terraces for an inclined roof.

Santa Maria was long supposed to be the work of an English architect named Hacket. Now it is obvious that no architect from the North would ever have designed terraced roofs, or would ever have had recourse to stellate cupolas of a purely oriental type on squinches. On the other hand, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, he would have multiplied the divisions and sub-divisions of the vaults. As a fact, the first architect of Batalha was a Portuguese called Affonso Dominguez, and the second, Huguet, was a Frenchman, if we may judge by the name very plainly written in the royal archives of Torre do Tombo. This name was first transformed into Aquete by Soares de Silva (*Memoirs of Dom João I.*). Then came Murphy, the famous historian of Batalha (1789-1790), who supposed Aquete to be an English name mis-spelt, and corrected it to Hacket. Such was the origin of a misunderstanding the more persistent in that the Queen, Dona Philippa of Lancaster, during whose lifetime the works were begun, was the granddaughter of Edward III. of England.

When this theory was abandoned, it was suggested that the abbey church was a copy of Burgos cathedral (Fig. 256). Now not only do their respective chevets negative any comparison between the two churches, but the chapel of the Condestable, which has been likened to the Imperfect Chapels, is awkwardly grafted on to the ambulatory (*sup. p. 212*),

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FIG. 600.—BATALHA. SANTA MARIA. ROYAL CLOISTER.  
(*Author's Phot.*)



FIG. 601.—BATALHA. SANTA MARIA. FOUNTAIN OF THE CLOISTERS.  
(*Phot. Vicomte de Condeixa.*)

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FIG. 602.—EVORA.—ERMIDA DE SAN BRAZ  
(SAINT BLAISE).  
(Author's Phot.)

Famagusta, and Saint Sophia at Nicosia, not only the terraced roofs and the façade with its preponderating horizontal portions, but the flying buttresses, the windows, the transverse section, the lighting of the nave and side aisles are identical with the architectural disposition of Santa Maria da Victoria. It would be rash to infer imitation from these resemblances. And yet the relations of Portugal with Cyprus were such at this period that the crown of Lusignan was offered to the son of João I., the Infante Dom Henrique, whose tomb is in the sepulchral chapel of this very church. It is possible that Huguet may have been one of that company of freemasons who travelled about from kingdom to kingdom offering their services, that he had practised his art in the eastern islands of the Mediterranean, perhaps in Cyprus, and that João's choice fell upon him for this very reason. As to the analogies pointed out between the church of Thomar and the sepulchral chapel of Batalha, they, too, may be explained. Before his accession, João I. was Grand Master of the Order of Aviz, a body in the closest relation to the Order of Christ, which had inherited the pos-

and was designed in 1487, when the basement of the Imperfect Chapels had been in existence over forty years.

Although the Cathedrals of Evora (Fig. 594) and Palma (Fig. 272) possess or have possessed terraces, the use of these was only frankly developed in the French churches of the island of Cyprus. At Saint James and at Saint Nicolas at



FIG. 603.—BRAGANZA. ANTIGA CASA DO SENADO.  
(Phot. Biel.)

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FIG. 604.—VIANNA DO CASTELLO. HOUSE WITH ARMORIAL BEARINGS.  
(Phot. Biel.)

Imperfect Chapels ; the barrel, by the chapel of the founder. Philip II. had the Escorial built on the plan of a gridiron, in fulfilment of a vow made at Saint Quentin. May not João, initiated by an uninterrupted tradition into the Oriental mysteries of the Templars, have made some similar undertaking on the field of Aljubarrota ?

Certain churches, interesting in various ways, may be classified either as transition Romanesque or Gothic. They are : at Santarem, São João du Alporão (now the Archaeological Museum), Santa Maria de Marvila (1244), San Francisco (thirteenth century), and the church of the convent of Graça ; at Thomar, the cloister do Cemiterio, built about 1430 by the Infante Dom Henrique (Fig. 585) at Leiria, the Palatine chapel (fourteenth century) (Fig. 605) ; at Oporto, São Francisco (1383-1410) ; at Guimarães, Nossa Senhora, built by Juan Garcia of Toledo (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) ; at Funchal (Madeira) the cathedral built a few years

sessions of the Templars and enrolled the active members of the dissolved community. It is therefore conceivable that when he signed the deed of donation to the Dominicans, he may have exhorted them to recall, in some annexe of Santa Maria, the characteristic features of the church of Thomar, and consequently, the arrangements imitated from the Kubbet - es - Sakhra (*sup. p. 305*). The very plan attests a debt to Islam (Fig. 597). It reproduces the symbolic key graven upon the Door of Justice in the Alhambra (*sup. p. 201*). The ring is represented by the

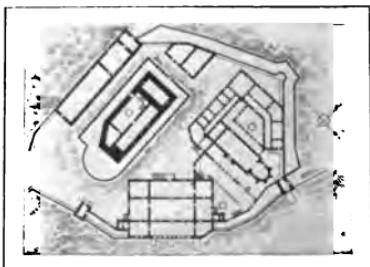


FIG. 605.—LEIRIA. CASTLE OF DOM DINIZ.  
(Drawn by Ernesto Korrodi.)

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after the discovery of the island (1419); at Evora, the Ermida of San Braz (Fig. 602), built as a place of pilgrimage after an epidemic of plague (1482), and the chapel of the regular canons of Loyos or San Eloy (1485-1491).

The cathedral of Vizeu is situated partly upon a plateau which dominates the town, partly upon enormous foundation-walls of granite. As a whole the building dates from 1513, though the exterior has often been modified. The nave, covered with a Gothic vault, is dark and low. It is nevertheless extremely interesting, from the fact that the arcs-doubleaux (transverse arches) are represented as enormous cables, and the intersections of the various planes as knotted cords. As far as I know, this was the first appearance of those naval elements which architects used to commemorate the exploits of the Portuguese fleet under the leadership of Dom João's famous son, the Infante Dom Henrique.

The civil buildings of the Romanesque and Gothic periods still existing have no very special character in the north of Portugal. They resemble those of the same period in the south of France. Among them are the *Antiga Casa do Senado* at Braganza (thirteenth century) (Fig. 603), some fine houses at Viana do Castello (Fig. 604), the *Paço do Concelho* (Town Hall) in the same town (end of the fifteenth century, later restorations). If we may trust to manuscripts, *Mudejar* architecture also flourished here. Further, Alemtejo, where



FIG. 606.—LEIRIA. CASTLE OF DOM DINIZ.  
(Reconstruction by E. Korrodi.)



FIG. 607.—EVORA. CATHEDRAL.  
STATUES IN THE PORCH (v. Fig. 593.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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the Musulmans sojourned longer than in the northern provinces, is rich in buildings of the mixed style, for the most part of the sixteenth century.

The name Castille might have been applied to Portugal even more appropriately than to central Spain. It bristles with castles built either to guard the territories regained from the Moors, or to serve as breakwaters against the Spaniards. The first are to be found in the north. Then come the group of fortresses destined by the Templars to defend the course of the Tagus. Finally, the southern citadels rose. As to the fortifications directed against the Spaniards, they correspond with the courses of the four great rivers, the Douro, the Mondego, the Tagus and the Guadiana. Generally speaking, Portuguese fortresses are closely akin to those of Spain.

The district of Leiria was wrested from the Moors about 1130, and definitively occupied in 1148. No sooner had Affonso Henriques acquired this strong strategic position, than he hastened to fortify it. In addition to the citadel, he built a wall to encircle the infant town. Save for a breach on the Liz, which flows at its feet, the old wall is intact in part, and of the town, the Romanesque church already mentioned (p. 312) still remains. Dom Diniz (1279-1335), and his wife Dona Isabel of Aragon (Santa Isabel) made Leiria their favourite residence. The Tower of Homage (*Menagen* in Portuguese), and the



FIG. 608.—ALCOBAÇA, SANTA MARIA.  
TOMB OF DONA BRITES.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 609.—ALCOBAÇA, SANTA MARIA.  
TOMB OF INEZ DE CASTRO.  
(Author's Phot.)

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which it was the redoubt, date from the reign of this king. But it was João I. (1385–1433), the founder of Batalha, who built the castle, the chapel, and the fortifications which surround them (Figs. 605, 606).

The parade-ground is a triangular space at the foot of the citadel. It is bordered on the south-east by the palace, the upper storey of which was occupied by the king. A lateral flight of steps connected this with the parade-ground (cf. Figs. 603, 661, 682). Escalade and projectiles were not to be feared at this height. Hence the royal apartments facing the south-east were lighted by a continuous gallery, with light arcades affording a view of the town and the surrounding country. The same arrangement is to be seen in the summits of the towers adjoining the palace. On the other hand, the storey below the royal domicile has very narrow windows, and the ground floor is lighted only from an inner court.

The Portuguese were always excellent engineers. Several fine works attest this, such as the Gothic bridge of Batalha, and the immense aqueducts da Armoreira at Elvas and da Prata at Evora (sixteenth century).

The Cistercian tradition, which long persisted in Portugal, was not favourable to the development of sculpture. This is evident in the statues which decorate the porch of the Cathedral of Evora (Fig. 607) and some few other porches.

The tombs are the first monuments in which serious qualities are revealed. The monastery of

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FIG. 610.—ALCOBAÇA. IGNEZ DE CASTRO.  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 611.—BELEM. SANTA MARIA.  
LATERAL DOOR.  
(Author's Phot.)

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Santa Clara of Coimbra carefully preserves that of Santa Isabel, wife of Dom Diniz (1279–1335), executed during the queen's lifetime. The monastery of Alcobaça possesses three; that of Dona Brites, wife of Dom Alfonso III. (1248–1279), who died in 1304 (Fig. 608), and those of Dom Pedro I. (1367–1385), and Dona Ignez de Castro (d. 1355). Portuguese sculpture of the period has nothing equal to the recumbent figure of Ignez, and the kneeling angels who surround the unfortunate princess (Fig. 610).

At Batalha, João I. (d. 1434) and Philippa of Lancaster (d. 1416), the founders of the monastery, rest side by side on a sarcophagus of antique form supported by eight lions (Fig. 598). The tombs of the Infantes—Dom Fernando, Dom João, Dom Henriques (Henry the Navigator; see Figs. 633, 635), and Dom Pedro—set into the wall, are too much damaged or too drastically restored to be taken into account. The fine sarcophagus of Duarte de Menezes is justly admired in the Museum of Santarem.

### MANUELIAN PERIOD.

—After the deaths of Dom João II. (1481–1490) and of the Infant Dom Alfonso (1491), the last representatives of the dynasty of Aviz, the throne had become vacant. Dom Manuel, Duke of Vizeu, Grand Master of the Order of Christ, was invited to fill it. Just at this period, Portugal, under the direction of Henry the



FIG. 612.—BELEM, SANTA MARIA.  
NAVE.

(Phot. *Officinas photographicas.*)



FIG. 613.—BELEM, SANTA MARIA. GREAT  
CLOISTER.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 614.—THOMAR. CONVENTO DE  
CHRISTO. DOOR OF THE CHAPEL.  
(Author's Phot.)

was probably a hypertrophy of the Gothic, *Mudejar*, and *Plateresque* styles of the last half of the fifteenth century, determined by the too rapid influx of gold. It was also a manifestation of gratitude to the Knights of Christ, those hardy navigators whose emblems and maritime tackle were reproduced on buildings.

The designs for the Hieronymite monastery of Belem, the most famous of the Manuelian buildings, are said to have been made by an architect named Boutaca, and the works to have been begun in 1500. As a fact, they were not started till seventeen years later, when the direction of the architecture was entrusted to João de Castilho, and that of the sculpture to Nicolau Chatranez o Francez (Nicolas Chatranais the Frenchman).

In plan, Santa Maria of Belem consists of a nave with side

Navigator (1392–1460), had conquered Madeira (1419), the Azores (1432), Guinea (1482), Angola and Benguela (1486). In 1501, she took possession of Brazil, and from 1509 to 1513 she pursued the dazzling course of her successes in India and Africa. It was during this period of ebullition and opulence that a singular style was evolved, complicated, but national and characteristic—the Manuelian style (*Arte Manoelina*).

Much has been said as to the origin of the Manuelian Style. It has been sought in rhetorical phrases, and some have supposed that its birthplace was India. The truth appears to be simpler. It



FIG. 615.—THOMAR. TOMB OF DIOGO  
DA GAMA. CLOISTER DO CEMITARIO,  
(Fig. 585).  
(Author's Phot.)

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aisles, unobtrusive transepts, and a single apse (reconstructed in the sixteenth century). The tribune or *coro alto* assigned to the Chapter corresponds to the first bay of the nave, and rises over the porch of the axial or central door. The façade towards the Tagus (Fig. 611) is pierced by a principal door, surmounted by a window, two immense apertures flanking it, and a rose-window which lights the transept on the Epistle side. From base to summit, this lateral door is loaded with pinnacles, finials, canopies and statues. As in the Abbey Church of Alcobaça, the three aisles are of the same height and are crowned by one roof. The vaults are a network of panels and ribs. The octagonal piers of the nave and the transept piers—over slender for their height—are marked by the same excessive richness as the lateral door (Fig. 612). On the other hand, the arcs-doubleaux, the formerets, and the auxiliary ribs, and the arches of doors and windows are simple in appearance, either semi-circular or elliptical with a large horizontal axis. The vaulted two-storeyed cloisters, a masterpiece by João de Castilho (Fig. 613), and the Chapter House, the vaulting of which is supported on a central column shaped like a baluster, are in harmony with the church.



FIG. 617.—BATALHA. IMPERFECT CHAPELS. DOOR.  
(Phot. of the Visconde de Condeixa.)



FIG. 616.—THOMAR. CONVENTO DE CRISTO. ROSE-WINDOW AND WINDOW BELOW IT.  
(Author's Phot.)

At about the same time when the walls of the monastery of Belem were rising from the ground, the royal Pantheon of Santa Cruz at Coimbra was demolished, and the present building was begun. It was finished in 1521 by the architects and sculptors of Belem. The church consists

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FIG. 618.—LISBON. CHURCH OF DA CONCEIÇÃO VELHA.

(Phot. Officinas photographicas.)

the tomb of Diogo da Gama (Fig. 615) in the Cloister do Cemiterio (Fig. 585) may be classed as Gothic. Thomar is distinguished from preceding buildings by the rose-window which lights the tribune, and by the famous window of the Chapter House below this (Fig. 616). These two examples, executed about 1450 from the designs of Ayres do Quintal, surpass every known Manuelian motive in complexity. Yet they found so many admirers that they were copied at Cintra in 1550.

Although the Imperfect Chapels of Batalha belong, as has been said, to the end of the Gothic style, we must except the central door, finished in the sixteenth century, where we find the Manuelian combination of concave and convex curves noted in the *Audiencia* of Barcelona (Fig. 278).

The porch of Nossa Senhora da Conceição Velha at Lisbon (Fig.

of an apse, a nave, and a choir within a tribune. It is closely akin to the Spanish chapels of the end of the sixteenth century—such as the *Obispo* chapel at Madrid (*sup. p. 210*), and in the interior ornamentation of the windows it shows those arches with concave and convex curves and pointed summits which occurred in an earlier period from Salamanca to Toulouse (*sup. p. 211-222*).

When the successors of the Templars wished to enlarge the monastic church of Thomar, they applied in their turn to João de Castilho and Nicolas Chatranais. Hence the outer door (Fig. 614) is a reduction of that of Belem, while the nave reproduces that of Santa Cruz, and



FIG. 619.—THOMAR. SÃO JOÃO BAPTISTA.

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 620.—EVORA. HOUSE OF GARCIA DE RESENDE.  
(Author's Phot.)

Manuelian styles is effected in the twin windows of the house of Garcia de Resende at Evora (Fig. 620); in a palace at Viana do Castelho (Fig. 621); in a delightful window of the Casa dos Coimbras, at Braga; in the façade of the Casa de Sub-Ripas, at Coimbra; in a twin window at Portalegre, etc. The tower of Belem, built from a design attributed to Garcia de Resende, and finished in 1520, in the reign of Manuel I., is the only fortified building which has a Manuelian decoration. The windows, the watch-towers, the brattises, the battlements in the form of shields ornamented with the open cross of the Order of Christ, and a covered balcony on the side towards the river are all in excellent taste.

618), and that of the Asylum de la Madre de Deus in the same city, founded by Alienor, widow of Joao II. (1481-1490) in 1509, belong to the Belem variety of the Manuelian style; the door of São João Baptista of Thomar (Fig. 619), the door and windows of the University, and the door of the historic house of Maria Tellez at Coimbra belong to the Thomar variety; the door of São Julião of Setubal, that of the Church of Marvila at Santarem, and the curious door of the Church do Carmo at Evora, composed of branches of trees and interlaced ribbons resting upon twisted columns, are of the Batalha variety.

The amalgamation of the various



FIG. 621.—VIANNO DO CASTELLO. PALACE OF THE VISCOUNTS DE CARREIRA.

(Phot. Biel.)

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FIG. 622.—TOWER OF BELEM.  
(Phot. Lévy.)

is covered with a barrel vault divided into octagonal coffers on the flat part of which swans are painted. Pendants hang from the square spaces between the coffers. The frames and the cornice, which has a white ground, are ornamented with a foliage pattern in red and blue, heightened with gold. On the second storey is the *Sala das Armas* (Hall of the coats of arms), rather later in date than the other two (c. 1520). It is square, but the introduction of squinch arches at the angles made it possible to cover it with a pyramidal timber cupola. The royal coats of arms and those of the Infantes are painted on the soffits. All round the hall, above the cornice, stags bear the shields of the seventy-two noble families of Portugal.

The Oriental character of the ceilings at Cintra is masked by ornaments and mouldings in the Italian style. On the other hand, Musulman influence predominates in the outline of the twin windows with their horseshoe arches, their delicate

The finest building in which distant memories of the Musulman domination linger is the palace of Cintra, near Lisbon, begun by João I. towards the end of the fourteenth century, and finished at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Manuel I. (Figs. 624, 625).

Two rooms on the first floor, the *Sala das Pegas* and the *Sala Grande* or *dos Cysnes*, are remarkable for their magnificent wooden ceilings. The first is decorated with magpies (*pegas*), holding in their beaks a rose, and the device of João I., *por bene* (for good). The *Sala dos Cysnes*



FIG. 623.—COIMBRA. SÉ VELHA.  
PORCELAIN REVETMENTS.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 624.—PALACE OF CINTRA IN 1507.  
(From a Drawing by Duarte de Armas.)  
(*O Paço do Cintra*, by H. M. Queen Amélie.)

includes the facing of the little apartment called the *Sala das Sereias* (Sirens). The squares have white grounds with green vine leaves and purple tendrils in relief. The frame, ornamented with geometrical designs, is blue, white and green, with black lines. We must also note the high wainscot of the *Sala dos Cysnes*, composed of white and green squares, and crowned by a green frieze of alternate Moresque merlons and castles. The immense conical cupolas which dominate the palace were also faced with pottery. They form part of the ancient buildings, and, like that of the Alcobaça, surmount the kitchens (*sup. p. 305*).

The porcelain facings of the old Cathedral of Coimbra (Fig. 623) might have rivalled those of Cintra, but they have been partially destroyed.

The earliest *azulejos* were manufactured by the Moors. Some came from Valencia and Seville. But soon Portugal had famous factories of her own. There were thirteen at Lisbon. The *Sala dos Cysnes* plaques were executed in those of Belem for Dom Manuel, and the novices of São Thiago had famous furnaces at Pamella.

columns and capitals, and also in the whitewash of the *Sala dos Cysnes*. The true decorative wealth of the palace is to be found in the *azulejos*. Those which date from the fourteenth century are cut out, and form a veritable marquetry. Others, more modern, retain the geometric design, but are of the class called *cuerda seca* in Spain (*sup. p. 269*). A third category, perhaps the most curious,



FIG. 625.—PALACE OF CINTRA, ACTUAL STATE.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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FIG. 626.—EVORA. SÃO FRANCISCO. PORCH.  
(Author's Phot.)

The *Mudejar* buildings, if we except the Palace of Cintra, are nearly all grouped at Evora (Alemtejo). The ruined palace of Dom Manuel I. has double windows with horse-shoe arches, ornamented on the intrados with festoons, sometimes in brick, sometimes in stone, and connected on the extrados by a sharply pointed gable of contrary flexure. Very slender columns and ornamented capitals complete them.

A door of the convent of Loyos (Fig. 627), and the little loggia known as the *Portas de Moura*, of the same date as the palace, have the same decoration. The porch of São Francisco (c. 1500), where the semi-circular, the horse-shoe arch struck from a single centre, and the pointed horse-shoe arch all fraternise, also deserves mention (Fig. 626). Gothic and Musulman architecture are again united at Santarem, in the minaret-belfry of São João do Alporão ; at Vianna do Alemtejo, in a double window with festooned archivolts ; in the castle of Alvito (between Evora and Beja), begun in 1494 for João II., and in a pavilion



FIG. 627.—EVORA. SÃO JOÃO EVANGELISTA (LOYOS). DOOR OF CLOISTERS.  
(Author's Phot.)

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built about the same time for Affonso of Portugal, Archbishop of Evora.

Musulman influences persisted in Portugal long after the sixteenth century. Thus at Guimarães, Braga, Villa Real, Braganza, Oporto, and in the towns of the south we find *adufas* in all respects similar to the *musharabiehs* of Cairo.

Finally, Elvas, one of the great cities of Alemtejo, with its *patios*, its open staircases set against the walls of the courtyards, its terraced roofs, its uniformly white houses, has the appearance of a Moroccan town.

In spite of the coming of Van Eyck to Portugal (*inf. p. 328*), and the long sojourn Sansovino is said to have made here in the reign of João II. (*inf. p. 336*) neither Flanders nor Italy had

much general influence upon the development of the arts during the Manuelian period. Sculpture, in particular, seems to have been wholly unaffected. It was, indeed,

under the direction of Diogo de Castilho and Nicolas Chatranais that the two doors of Belem were executed (Fig. 611), also the decorations of Santa Cruz at Coimbra, and notably the royal tombs (Fig. 628) of Dom Affonso Henriques (1139-1185) and Dom Sancho I. (1185-1211). On the other hand, in the same church we admire a stone pulpit in the finest French Renaissance style, which is the work of João de Ruão (Jean de Rouen). This artist arrived at Coimbra in 1522, accompanied by Iago Longuin (Jacques Longuin) and Filipo Uduarte (Philippe Odoart or Edouard), three famous French



FIG. 629.—ABRANTES. TOMB OF DOM  
JOÃO D'ALMEIDA.  
(Phot. Biel.)



FIG. 628.—COIMBRA. SANTA CRUZ,  
TOMB OF DOM AFFONSO HENRIQUES.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 630.—COIMBRA. SÉ VELHA.  
REREDOS OF THE HIGH ALTAR.

629), who died in 1512, is of a very individual type of Manuelian, akin to the finest Plateresque.

In Portugal, the reredos has been replaced almost everywhere either by pictures or baldaquins, or by stepped pyramids on which innumerable candles are arranged on festivals, with the monstrance at the apex. Among those which have survived, that in the Old Cathedral of Coimbra is undoubtedly the best (Fig. 630). It was executed for the Count Bishop Jorge d'Almeida, who occupied the see of Coimbra from 1481 to 1543. A receipt has been found in the archives dated 1508, in the name of "Master Vlimer the Fleming and his companion Jean d'Ypres." Must we conclude that they were the sole authors of the reredos? To judge by the style, they would seem to have collaborated with a Spanish master of the end of the fifteenth century. Two

masters, says the chronicle of Agostino of Coimbra.

There is reason to suppose that Jean de Rouen and his colleagues carved, among other things, two reredoses set into the walls of the cloisters of Santa Cruz, the lateral door known as the *Especiosa* of the Sé Velha (old Cathedral), and the Virgin of the pediment.

The tombs of Diogo de Pinhenço, first Bishop of Funchal (d. 1525) (Nossa Senhora dos Olivaes at Thomar), and those of Carreiro, Dom Duarte de Menezes, and the Barbosas (Church of Graça, Santarem), are also in the French style, while that of Dom João d'Almeida (Fig.



FIG. 631.—THOMAR. CONVENTO DE CRISTO. STATUES OF THE SANCTUARY.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 632.—CANCIONERO OF THE COLLEGE OF NOBLES.

(Library of the Palace of Ajuda.)  
(Author's Phot.)

collaborated in the *pelurinhos*, or pillory-columns, also called *forcas dos fidalgos* on account of the great number of nobles who were tortured or exposed at them. They still stand in the open spaces at Thomar, Lisbon, Cintra, Arcos, Val de Vez, and other towns, and in spite of their function, they are often very graceful.

The art of illumination was practised at an early period. Frey Bernardo de Brito mentions a portrait from life of Count Henriques (1092–1112) which adorned the frontispiece of a Bible in the monastery of Alcobaça. This work has disappeared, but the archives of Torro do Tombo possess a Commentary on the Apocalypse in a barbarous style, signed "Edgar" and dated 1189. The drawings are executed in sepia on horizontal bands of light yellow and reddish-orange. The architecture is in the early *Mudejar* style.

In the time of Alfonso III. (1248–1279), miniature made some progress, as is shown by two fine manuscripts on parchment. One (Torro do Tombo, parcel ii, no. iii de Foraes),

reredoses by Nicolas Chatranais, one at San Marcos, near Coimbra, the other in the royal castle of La Penha, may be mentioned, but with the reminder that both are the works of French artists.

The painted and gilded statues of the sanctuary of Thomar are greatly superior to the Portuguese reredoses (Fig. 631). Together with the pictures in the ambulatory and the warm polychromy of the architecture, they give considerable character to the building. This decoration was executed by order of Manuel I. (1495–1521).

Finally, sculptor and architect



FIG. 633.—NUNO GONÇALVES.  
HENRY THE NAVIGATOR.  
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)  
(Phot. Hachette.)

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has a Christ painted in blue and red on p. 9; the other (National Library, Lisbon), is a magnificent Hebrew Bible with decorative illuminations in red, blue, and gold. It was written at Cerbere (Spain) in 1299 by the Rabbi Abrahão, and illustrated by José Osarfati. It is most valuable for the exact representation it gives of Portuguese *Mudejar* architecture of this period, and shows how French Gothic and the Musulman style of Seville were mingled in almost equal proportions.

We must further call attention to the ancient *Cancionero* of the College of the Nobles (Fig. 632), the *Vistas e Plantas das Fortalezas do reino feitas por Duarte Darmas, Escudeiro da Caza do Senhor Re Dom Manoel 1495-1521* (Torre do Tombo) and four fine manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: the chronicle of Gomez Eannes de Azurara, written in 1453, and enriched with an excellent portrait of Henry the Navigator (Fig. 633); the *Leal Consellieiro*, the *Breve tratado* or *Epilogo de todos os visos reyes que tem habido no Estado* by Pedro Barrero de Resende (1635), with portraits of the governors of the Indies, and the *Genealogia Universal de la Nobilissima Casa de Sandoval* (1612), illustrated by a Portuguese named Eduardus Caldeira, and bound in a magnificent cover of silver-gilt, chased at Lisbon. Special mention is also due to the precious missal of Estevão Gonçaloes (seventeenth century), on which the kings took



FIG. 634.—ESTEVÃO GONÇALOES.  
PENTECOST.



FIG. 635. - NUNO GONÇALVES. TRIPTYCH OF SAN VICENTE. CENTRAL PANEL.  
(Archbishop's Palace, Lisbon.)

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FIG. 636.—NUNO GONÇALVES. TRIPTYCH  
DE SAN VICENTE. SHUTTERS.

of Jan van Eyck, who, in 1428, came to paint the portrait of Dona Isabel, daughter of Dom João I. (1387–1433). The choice the king made of Van Eyck is explained by the relations which maritime commerce had established between Portugal and Flanders. As early as 1386, Portuguese merchants had an Exchange at Antwerp; in 1503 a factory had been established there, which soon prospered.

Nuno Gonçalves, appointed painter to Afonso V. on July 20, 1450 (Archives of Torre do Tombo), belongs to the second period. Two large triptychs by him exist, known as the *Adoração de San Vicente*. (One

their oath to the Constitution (Fig. 634), and to the *Memorias da paz de Utrecht* by Luis da Cunha (1715).

The history of Portuguese painting is more obscure in its origins than that of miniature. According to Frey Luis de Souza, there was in the Monastery of São Domingo an altar-piece, representing *Santa Isabel*, wife of Dom Diniz (1279–1325), in the character of the Virgin Mary, and her son, afterwards Afonso IV. (1325–1357), in that of the Child Jesus. Frey Bernardo Brito, for his part, mentions an *Adoration of the Shepherds* in which Afonso IV. and his son Dom Pedro figured.

Some light breaks in, though it lasts but a short time, after the visit of Jan van Eyck, who, in 1428, came to paint the portrait of



FIG. 637.—GRÃO VASCO. SAINT PETER.  
(Cathedral of Vizeu.)

(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 638.—FONS VITÆ.  
(Hospital da Misericordia, Oporto.)

is signed.) They are masterpieces (Fig. 635). By the careful study of the figures, the learned treatment of the draperies, the rendering of detail, at once careful and broad, by composition and by colour, they constitute the finest homage art could have awarded to the patron saint of Portugal, victor over the Musulmans, and to the creators of the national navy. On the central panel, known as the Panel of the Infante, we see, on the right, Henry the Navigator (Fig. 635), another portrait of whom, probably by the same master, is to be found in the *Chronicle* of

Gomez Eannes (Fig. 633), with King Affonso V. kneeling above the saint.

There were undoubtedly ties of artistic affinity between Nuno Gonçalves and the Flemish and Burgundian masters, but, from its earliest youth, the Portuguese school nevertheless affirmed its individuality. The very pronounced ethnical type and the scale of colour contributed to characterise it. As the artist was appointed painter to the king in 1450, and as Henry the Navigator died in 1460, we may fix the date of the triptych between these two years.

The school of the north, which developed at the same period as the school of Lisbon, is also magnificently represented. About 1510, the Master of Tarouca painted for the church of this town a



FIG. 639.—CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.  
(Museum of Coimbra.) (Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 640.—DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.  
(Museum of Coimbra.) (Author's Phot.)

mention of the artist until 1630. A *Calvary*, a replica of the Master of Tarouca's *Saint Peter*, a *Pentecost*, a *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, a *Baptism of Christ* with an admirable head of the Saviour, and the *Saint Peter* (in the Cathedral of Vizeu), attributed to Grão Vasco, are among the finest works of the early sixteenth century (Fig. 637). The head of the Apostle in the last-named work, the tiara, the subsidiary scenes, the Gothic towers of Rome might be the work of a Flemish artist; the details of the throne recall the classic forms of the French Renaissance introduced into Portugal by Nicholas Chatranais and Jean de Rouen, but the modelling is indigenous, and shows that this work, so little known in spite of its magnificence, was executed in Portugal.

The *Fons Vitae* of Oporto (Fig. 638) presents a problem so far unsolved, but both sacred figures and landscape are the work of a great master, as are also the portraits of Manuel I. (1495-1521), Dona Maria, his second wife, and their numerous children, kneeling at the foot of the Cross. But who was this master? Not Hubert Van Eyck, nor Memling, whose names

*Saint Peter* and a *Saint Michael* of a vigorously realistic type. Vasco Fernandez, called Grão Vasco, was his pupil. Grão Vasco, it is said, was born at Vizeu in a mill worked by his father, and was sent to Italy by Manuel I. Although ancient documents have been found, in which painters named Vasco, Velasco, Velaſcus (in Spanish Velazquez) figure, there is no formal men-



FIG. 641.—BETROTHAL OF THE VIRGIN.  
(Museum of Lisbon.) (Author's Phot.)

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have been suggested, nor even Grão Vasco. The style of the painter of the *Fons Vitae* is too dissimilar from theirs, and also, the royal portraits were painted between 1515 and 1520, and the Van Eycks and Memling were no longer living at this period. The only indubitable point is that the artist had been brought up in a mystical centre analogous to the Portuguese centre. He may have been the painter of the praying portraits of their Catholic Majesties (Fig. 364).

Numerous fifteenth and sixteenth century pictures are to be found at Coimbra. Those in the choir of Santa Cruz are ascribed to a painter called Velascus. This was not the Vasco of Vizeu. The most important group belongs to the Museum of the University. It consists of three distinct categories : the first, aerial and transparent in effect, is well represented by the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 639), others by the *Nativity*, in which a profusion of gold and precious stones contrasts with the simplicity of the preceding series, while for the third we may take as typical a little *Descent from the Cross* (Fig. 640), which, if it was not painted at Venice, denotes a very special temperament. The tawny hair of the Magdalen blends with the carmine and black of the draperies in a warm and sumptuous harmony.



FIG. 643.—MARY AND THE APOSTLES  
AFTER THE RESURRECTION.  
(Museum of Lisbon.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 642.—ANNUNCIATION.  
(Museum of Lisbon.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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is noteworthy by reason of the very individual and somewhat fleshy, though youthful, features of Mary (Fig. 641). They are frankly Portuguese. I may add that among the coins offered to the priest there is one with the effigy and name of João III. (1521-1557). The feminine type of the *Betrothal* is repeated in an *Annunciation*, the figures in which are relieved against a twin window (Fig. 642). The horse-shoe arches, the delicate column and the capital seem to have been borrowed from some building at Evora, such as the door of the cloister of Loyos (Fig. 627). Two delightful works, recalling the Coimbra *Assumption* in some respects, are also thoroughly Portuguese in colour, drawing, and detail. One represents the Virgin seated in a garden, with the Infant Jesus on her lap (Fig. 645). An angel with red and greyish-indigo wings offers the child some black figs, gathered surely in an orchard of Alemtejo. In the second the painter has depicted *Mary after the Resurrection* (Fig. 643). Other interesting works are a very delicately treated *Marriage of the Virgin* (Fig. 646) and the series celebrating the *Exploits of Correa*, Grand Master of Thomar (or of São Thiago, according to another version).

They are severe works, strongly national in character (Fig. 644), which nevertheless recall the Catalan Jaime Huguet (*sup. p. 176*), and are ascribed to Christovão Figueiredo. *Other sixteenth century*



FIG. 645.—VIRGIN WITH THE FIGS.  
(Museum of Lisbon.) (Author's Phot.)



FIG. 644.—CHRISTOVÃO FIGUEREDO,  
CORRÉA'S VICTOR OVER THE MOORS.  
(Museum of Lisbon.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 646.—MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN.  
(Museum of Lisbon.)  
(Author's Phot.)

works are: a *Virgin and Infant Christ* (Fig. 647), a supposed portrait of *Doña Catalina of Aragon, Queen of England, as Saint Catherine*, by Carvalho (Fig. 648), the *Virgin in Glory* (Church of Tarouca) painted by Gasper Vaz about 1540, and portraits of Dom João III. and his wife, Doña Catalina, sister of Charles V., ascribed to Sanchez Coello (*sup. p. 251*) (Fig. 650).

There is very little trace of the Portuguese element in *Jesus appearing after the Resurrection* (Fig. 649), in which women of the Flemish type surround a Christ who recalls the Jesus of the *Baptism* in Vizeu Cathedral, still less in twelve pictures, removed from the Cathedral

Baroque altar, and relegated to the

of Evora to make way for a Archbishop's palace, or in a *Saint Helena* of a chapel in the cathedral cloisters (Fig. 651). This remarkable series of thirteen panels would seem rather to be the work of a Flemish master. There are some very similar pictures by Gerard David in the Grand Ducal Gallery at Darmstadt, and as this artist was in Portugal at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is possible that he may have painted them at this period. On the other hand, two fine portraits of bishops in the small gallery adjoining the municipal library have the characteristics of the local school (Fig. 652). One of them bears the arms of Portugal and Aragon on the clasp of his cope; he is said to represent Dom Affonso, Bishop of Evora, and the other, distinguished by the device of Doña Leonor, would seem to be either Dom Martinho of Portugal, or Cardinal



FIG. 647.—THE VIRGIN, THE  
CHILD JESUS, AND TWO  
ANGELS.  
(Museum of Lisbon.)

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FIG. 648.—CARVALHO, DOÑA SANTA  
CATALINA.  
(Prado Museum.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

of the Virgin, the architecture, convincing certificates of origin; of bishops. It is undeniable that these schools are more or less of Flemish descent, and show the influence of Antwerp masters,

Dom Affonso, the son of Dom Manuel and of his second wife.

It is evident from this study that from the second half of the fifteenth century and during the first half of the sixteenth there were in Portugal three national schools, those of the north, the centre, and the south, quite distinct from the great schools of the rest of Europe. They proclaim themselves at Vizeu, in the paintings attributed to Grão Vasco; at Coimbra, in the canvases of the Museum; and at Lisbon in the two triptychs of the Patriarchate, in the pictures representing the exploits of Correa, and in certain delightful panels, where the type, the coins, and the fruits are finally, at Evora, in two portraits



FIG. 649.—JESUS APPEARS TO THE  
HOLY WOMEN.  
(Museum of Lisbon.) (Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 650.—S. COELLO, DOÑA CATALINA.  
(Hospital de la Madre de Deus, Lisbon.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 651.—SAINT HELENA.  
(Cathedral of Evora.)  
(Author's Phot.)

Burgundy sent a famous glass-painter, Master Guillaume Belles, to Batalha.

It is impossible that the Portuguese school can be wholly unrepresented outside the country itself. We might perhaps attribute to it several pictures much admired in France and in Spain.

*Woodwork*.—In Portugal it is customary for the Canons to be seated either round the altar or in a tribune at the entrance of the nave.

Their stalls are, generally speaking, very simple. Those of Santa Cruz at Coimbra commemorating great naval expeditions are exceptions to this rule (Fig. 653), as are the stalls at Belem, which are in an excellent Plateresque style.

*Goldsmith's Work*.—The monstrance of the Palace of Ajuda, executed by Gil Vicente

more particularly that of Quentin Matsys (1455–1530). But this strain is not unique; affinities with Italy and Catalonia must also be taken into account. As to the paintings in the Museum of Coimbra comprised in the first group, and the pictures in the Lisbon Museum, where the local flavour is so pronounced, they have all the combined grace and precision of French miniatures of the end of the fifteenth century. They remind us that Portuguese mediæval literature had ancestors in France, that Huguet, Nicolas Chatranais, Jean de Rouen, Jacques Longuin, and many of their compatriots worked at Batalha, Belem, Thomar and Coimbra, and that about 1450



FIG. 652.—HEADS OF BISHOPS.  
(Museum of Evora.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 653.—COÍM BRA. CHOIR-STALLS OF  
SANTA CRUZ.  
(Author's Phot.)

able enamels of the hospital of La Madre de Deus at Lisbon, the Romanesque chalice, the Manuelian chalice, and the carved jet cross in the oriental style (end of sixteenth century) of the Sé of Coimbra, the monstrance of Dom Miguel de Silva de Vizeu, the osculatorium of chased silver in the Lisbon Academy (Fig. 654), the casket of San Pantaleo in the cathedral of Oporto, the processional crosses in the Museum of Lisbon, the monstrance executed in 1450 for João de Ornelas, Abbot of Alcobaça, the crozier of the Cathedral of Evora, the delicate bas-reliefs of which represent dances of sirens and naked satyrs, the silver - gilt chalice and paten of the Palace of Ajuda. In spite of their lack of originality—the only defect to be laid to their charge—these objects, and also certain enamels in the Limousin style, seem to have been made in Portugal or Spain. They were probably executed in workshops where the tradition which French enamellers had brought

with the first gold brought from the Indies, and afterwards enriched with enamelled figures, ranks as the masterpiece of goldsmith's work in Portugal (Fig. 656). Next in order of merit are : the Cross of the Collegiate Church of Guimarães, and the triptych of Nossa Senhora da Oliveira in the same town (Fig. 655 and *sup.* p. 193), the reliquary with innumer-



FIG. 654.—OSULATORIUM.  
(Academy of Science, Lisbon.) (Phot. Lacoste.)

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into the Asturias towards the end of the fourteenth century had been preserved. One of these craftsmen, named Fernay, worked at Oviedo in 1378.

*Embroideries.* — The great cathedrals : Vizeu, Guimarães, Coimbra and Braga, possess marvellous specimens. In a hermitage of Castro Daire, there is a white mitre embroidered with gold (thirteenth century) and a bishop's staff. Two masterpieces come from the monastery of Lorvao : the Abbess' cope, and a pulpit-hanging, on which the embroiderer has represented Jupiter's eagle carrying off Ganymede.

THE SPANISH OCCUPATION (1580-1640).—The last scion of the house of Vizeu, the Cardinal-King Henrques, died in 1580 without heirs. Philip II. took advantage of this to invade Portugal. After taking Lisbon, he had himself proclaimed King there under the title of Philip I. The new sovereign encouraged a transformation of architecture, for which the excesses of the Manuelian style had prepared the way.

In 1485, Lorenzo the Magnificent had, at the request of João II. (1481-1490), sent Andrea Contucci, called Sansovino, to Portugal. He remained there till the death of the king, and introduced Italian architecture. Then, about 1525, a little church, Nossa Senhora de Graça (Fig. 657), was built at Evora in the Renaissance style, known in Portugal as the *Michelangelesque* or *Romanist* style. But the triumph of the Manuelian Style made this attempt abortive. Thus we may consider the Cloisters of Thomar, known as the Cloisters of the Philips, as the first building in which the superposed classical orders appear (Fig. 658).



FIG. 655.—SILVER TRIPTYCH OF NOSSA SENHORA DA OLIVEIRA.

(Guimaraes.) (Phot. Biel.)



FIG. 656.—GIL VICENTE MONSTRANCE.

(Royal Palace of Ajuda.) (Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 657.—EVORA. NOSSA SENHORA DE GRAÇA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)



FIG. 658.—THOMAR. CONVENTO DE CHRISTO. CLOISTERS OF THE PHILIPS.  
(Author's Phot.)

The work, excellent of its kind, recalls the court of the Farnese Palace built by Antonio di San Gallo about 1530, and the basilica of Vicenza decorated by Palladio in 1550. The grey granite cloisters of the Cathedral of Vizeu are a combination of Bramante's Santa Maria della Pace cloisters and of the Plateresque cloisters of Santiago Apostol at Salamanca (*sup. p. 215*). In spite of the difficulty of cutting this hard material, the capitals with their four volutes, the fluted shafts and the bases are all perfect in execution.

The Chapel of the Magi, built by Doña Antonia de Vilhena (1556), at San Marcos, near Coimbra, is a work of unrivalled purity and delicacy. The University of Coimbra and the central College of Evora call for no more than a passing mention.

In the Sé Nova (new cathedral) of Coimbra (last half of the sixteenth century), the barrel vaults and the cupola are



FIG. 659.—OPORTO. NOSSA SENHORA DO PILAR.  
CIRCULAR CLOISTERS.  
(Author's Phot.)

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divided into coffers. This Italian arrangement of the vaults was soon to become general (Fig. 634). It is found again with variations (octagons and squares with pendants) in the sacristy and the staircase leading to the *coro alto* in Santa Cruz at Coimbra, in San Vicente at Lisbon (the Pantheon of the House of Braganza), Nossa Senhora do Pilar at Oporto, and the chapel of the monastery of Santa Clara at Coimbra (1649).

The most interesting of these churches, Nossa Senhora do Pilar, was rebuilt in 1602 on the plan of the Pantheon. The cloisters were made circular, to harmonise with the church (Fig. 659). The granite building is a model of stone-cutting and dressing. In this connection, I may note that, with the exception of the cloisters of Thomar and Vizeu, which were inspired by excellent Italian models, the buildings of this period seem to have been constructed by engineers rather than by architects. Hence boldness of design and technical perfection of execution are often combined with a singular disregard for rhythm and proportion.



FIG. 660.—VIANNA DO CASTELLO.  
HOSPITAL DA MISERICORDIA.

(Phot. Biel.)



FIG. 661.—PONTE DO LIMA. PAÇO DE CALHEIROS.

(Phot. Biel.)

Civil architecture followed the tendencies of religious architecture ; but it shows more independence (Fig. 660). Houses retain the traditional arrangement (Fig. 661). Thus the steps, often preceded by a platform, are set against the façade and lead to a porch, under which is the door of an elevated ground floor or even of the first storey (cf. Figs. 603, 682, and p. 315).

The architecture of the

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FIG. 662.—OPORTO, CHURCHES DOS EXTINTOS CARMELITAS AND DO CARMO.  
(Author's Phot.)

Philips had the same duration in Portugal as that of the Escorial in Spain. The façade of the church dos Extintos Carmelitas at Oporto shows a new departure (Fig. 662). The classic orders and the friezes with triglyphs still reign ; but pediments become irregular, straight lines become curves, and a truly Manuelian fantasy makes itself felt in the composition.

The *Death of Saint Bernard*, a painted terra-cotta group in the abbey church of Alcobaça, is not faultless. Nevertheless, its complexity—it contains nearly thirty over life-size figures—its strong religious feeling, the serene grace of the celestial musicians and singers who welcome the saint to Paradise, the monastic austerity of the terrestrial figures, and the reticent polychromy raise it far above the average of Portuguese sculpture.

The polychrome *Pietà* of the Coimbra Museum (Fig. 663) is so closely akin to the school of Juan de Juni (*sup.* p. 238, 239) that it must be attributed to a Spanish artist. Three bas-reliefs in the Lisbon Museum, modelled, apparently, in a substance composed of earth and plaster, suggest a similar origin (Fig. 664). They have the grand qualities of composition and technique of Italian sculpture of the middle of the seventeenth century, and on the other hand, the general disposition and the polychromy recall the Spanish reredoses of the school of Roldán (*sup.* p. 246).

São Francisco at Oporto, however, and



FIG. 663.—PIETÀ.  
(Museum of Coimbra.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 664.—DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.  
(Museum of Lisbon.) (Author's Phot.)

Lisbon Museum have lost all artistic character.

*Goldsmith's Work.*—It is sometimes difficult to discriminate between native specimens and those brought from Spain. A work as to the origin of which there is no possible doubt is in that chapel of the cathedral at Oporto which corresponds to the Gilded Chapel. The altar, the tabernacle, the reredos and the plate are entirely of silver. The whole, though rather heavy, is extremely magnificent. The work was begun in 1632, and continued for a century. Throughout this long period only Portuguese artists were employed upon it. Their names have been carefully preserved: Bartholomeu Nunes, Manoel de Souza, Miguel Pereira, Pedro Francisco, Manoel Teixeira and Manoel Guedes.

*Woodwork.*—Walnut, mahogany, ebony, the

the Gilded Chapel of the Cathedral, are characteristically Portuguese, if we take into account the casing of excellently carved and gilded wood with which columns, vaults, altars and balustrades were faced after their completion.

During the Spanish domination, Portuguese painting gradually declined. The portraits of great persons and of unknown individuals in the University at Coimbra, in the National Library at Lisbon, and in the



FIG. 665.—MONASTERY PALACE OF MAFRA.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 666.—ALCOBAÇA. SANTA MARIA.  
(Phot. Biel.)

rectangular panels in the form of step-pyramids crowned with a moulded bronze nail in the shape of a chess-pawn or the knob of a patera.

*Pottery.*—The country palace of Baçalhoa (left bank of the Tagus) was built towards the end of the fifteenth century for Doña Brites, the mother of Manuel I. Like Cintra, it is a perfect museum of decorative pottery. Several pavilions, a portico, a fountain, the partition-walls, the seats, and the tubs for orange-trees are faced with splendid plaques. In the central pavilion adjoining the fountain, the visitor is struck by the panels representing the *Combat of the Lapithæ and Centaurs*, and *Susanna and the Elders*. The latter, painted in a soft, light



FIG. 667.—LISBON. BASILICA OF ESTRELLA.  
(Phot. Lacoste.)

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scale—white, grey, yellow ochre, blue and green—bears the date 1565 on the base. Other panels, more modern in appearance, are signed on a damaged part with a name ending in . . . *tos*, signifying, no doubt, Francisco Mattos, who executed the fine potteries of São Roque at Lisbon in the year 1584. At Baçalhoa there are also medallions with busts in relief, which might have come from the workshop of Luca della Robbia at the same time as those of the convent of the Madre de Deus at Lisbon.

The circular chapel of Sant' Amroa at Alcantara (c. 1580), the Dominican monastery at Elvas, a church near Baçalhoa (1648), the church of Alvito, Santa Maria Marvila at Santarem, the Matriz de Caldas da Rainha, the charming Manuelian collegiate church of Caminha on the Minho, and the college of Evora, are also embellished with revetments of porcelain.

**ART IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.**—After the expulsion of the Spaniards (1640), Portugal was quiescent for half a century; then the Churrigueresque style on the one hand, and the influence of Italian architects on the other, made themselves felt. But the national character soon asserted itself, and modified the foreign importations.

**Churches.**—The first important building in which the tendencies that make their earliest appearance in the church dos Extintos Carmelitas at Oporto (Fig. 662) are fully developed, is the immense monastery of Mafra to the north of Lisbon



FIG. 668.—AVEIRO. CHAPEL DO SENHOR DAS BARROCAS.  
(Phot. Biel.)



FIG. 669.—VIZEU. HOUSE WITH SCUTCHEONS.  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 670.—ROYAL CASTLE OF QUELUZ.  
(Phot. Rocchini.)

the belfries, and the pinnacles, the form of which is imitated from those of the Jesuit Church at Salamanca (Fig. 454). This part of the building was the work of the son of J. F. Ludwig. Contact with native artists caused him to forget his father's teachings so far as to adopt the taste prevalent in Portugal, and to change his name to Ludovici.

At the time when the Ludwigs were building Mafra, an Italian architect, Nicolas Nazodi, built at Oporto the church of Nossa Senhora da Assumpçao, or dos Clerigos, and the granite tower preceding it. Begun in 1732 in the Italian Rococo style which Chiavari introduced into Dresden at the same period (*Hofkirche*), the tower was finished in 1763 and the church in 1779.

The new façade of Santa Maria Álcobaça (Fig. 666), the church do Carmo of Oporto (1756–1791), and the basilica of the Santissimo Coração de Jesus at Lisbon (1779–1796) are expressions, either rhetorical or classical, of the religious style of the eighteenth century.

(Fig. 665). João V. (1706–1750), under whom the work was brought to a successful end, spent over 50,000,000 francs (£2,000,000) upon it, and poured all the resources of the royal exchequer into this gulf. The architects were J. F. Ludwig of Ratisbon, and his son, J. P. Ludwig. The Portuguese temperament is revealed in the decoration of the cupola,



FIG. 671.—ROYAL CASTLE OF QUELUZ,  
BANQUETING HALL.  
(Phot. Rocchini.)

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FIG. 672.—LISBON. PALACE OF  
QUINTELLA.  
(Author's Phot.)

The last-named, better known at Lisbon as the Basilica d'Estrella (Fig. 667), was the work of the architects Matheus Vicente and Reynaldo Manuel, who copied the arrangements of the church of Mafra, and of the sculptor J. Machado de Castro and his principal pupils (*inf. p. 345*). It is a Latin cross with hemicycles at the ends of the apse and the transepts. The three altars of the hemicycles are surmounted by rich baldacquins on columns, the summits of which form pointed arches of contrary flexure not only in elevation, but on plan.

The octagonal chapel do Senhor das Barrocas (c. 1775), a very elegant neo-Manuelian transcription of the Baptisteries of Florence

and Pisa, also deserves notice (Fig. 668).

*Civil Architecture.*—A horror of the straight line, a curious predilection for convex and concave curves, combined with an entire disregard of statical laws, and a pronounced taste for pediments designed after the manner of Chinese roofs, characterise civil as well as religious architecture (Fig. 669).

The castle of Queluz, built about 1785 by B. Oliveira (Figs. 670, 671), the Archbishop's Palace at Oporto, the Museum of Artillery at Lisbon, are among the more restrained manifestations of this style. In the interior of the Arsenal, the sculpture is nevertheless heavy, over-abundant, and too lavishly gilded, though not without a certain majesty and solemnity. It is the French architecture of Lebrun, "Manuelised." As to the



FIG. 673.—OPORTO. HOSPITAL OF SANTO ANTONIO.  
(Author's Phot.)

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decorative paintings, they are kept in a scale in which dark brownish-red, yellow ochre, and a blue verging on indigo predominate. The backgrounds are a bluish-grey, and here and there we note touches of black. The gold of the sculptures gives a curious intensity to this strange colour scheme.

The arrangement of rooms in line, one opening into another, usual both in France and Italy, appears to have been general in Portuguese palaces of the eighteenth century. The stairs are in straight flights, united by landings, and are often without a top-light.

Together with the national architecture of this period, in which the spirit of Manuelian art was revived, there existed a colourless kind of architecture which was a kind of prolongation of the pseudo-classic or Michelangelesque style in favour during the Spanish domination. The Hospital of Santo Antonio at Oporto is an example of this

(Fig. 673), and certain other well-known buildings are more or less of the same type; the Paço (royal palace) das Necessidades, the work of J. P. N. da Silva (1743-1750, reign of João V.); the Palace of Quintella, Lisbon, which might have been designed by a pupil of Gabriel's (Fig. 672); the Praça do Comercio, Lisbon, which contains the offices of the various Ministries, and was laid out by the engineer-captain, E. dos Santos Carvalho, after the earthquake of November 1, 1755; and the triumphal arch which faces the Tagus in the centre of one of its sides.

João V. had invited the co-operation of numerous foreign artists for the decoration of the monastery of Mafra. He took advantage of their presence



FIG. 674.—MACHADO.  
CHARITY.  
(Museum of Lisbon.)  
(Author's Phot.)



FIG. 675.—NYMPHS. TERRA COTTA.  
(Museum of Lisbon.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 676.—ANTONIO FERREIRA. PEASANTS GOING TO MARKET.

(Museum of Lisbon.) (Author's Phot.)

ciborium of San Vicente de Fora, the basilica of Estrella, the royal palace of Ajuda, and the Praça do Comercio. Machado also excelled in the modelling of terra-cotta statuettes (Fig. 674), and had pupils or imitators in this art, who cultivated it with success (Fig. 675). Among these were Alex. Gomez Diaz, José Silva, Bernardo Duarte and Pedro d'Alcantara da Cunha. Antonio Ferreira specialised in the execution of little terra-cotta figures representing scenes of rustic life, which he rendered with equal truth and talent (Figs. 676, 677). Finally, certain charming groups of angels are ascribed to Frey Manuel de Teixeira, the famous author of the statues which adorned the convent and church of the Trinity at Santarem. They are as dainty as Dresden china figures, and might have been modelled by pupils of Bernini (Fig. 678).

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century,

to found a school of sculpture. Its first director was Alessandro Giusti, and among its professors were a Portuguese, José Almeida, who had worked in Charles Monald's studio in Rome, and Giovanni Antonio, of Padua, the sculptor of the principal statues of Evora Cathedral, and of the *St. John Nepomuk* of the Bridge of Alcantara (1743). The reputation of these artists was eclipsed by that of Joaquim Machado de Castro (Coimbra, 1731—Lisbon, 1822). At Lisbon, his works adorn the



FIG. 677.—ANTONIO FERREIRA. RUSTIC MEAL.

(Museum of Lisbon.) (Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 678.—FREY MANUEL DE TEIXEIRA.  
ANGEL MUSICIANS.

(Museum of Lisbon.) (Author's Phot.)

opened by France and Spain. Domingos Antonio de Sequeira (Elvas, 1768—Rome, 1837) is superior to him, for though his pictures lack originality, his drawings are masterly.

*Pottery*.—At the end of the seventeenth century, and throughout the eighteenth, the art of pottery was very much modified. Decorative panels composed of squares from 13 to 16 centimetres in size have white grounds, and the subjects are painted on them in indigo blue. At Cintra, in the Hall of Armorial Bearings, horsemen in Louis XIV. costumes hunt birds and beasts. The church of Vizeu has high wainscots devoted to religious scenes. In the cloisters of the cathedral of Oporto there is a graceful series illustrating the *Song of Songs* (Fig. 679). The brilliant whites and indigoes of the porcelain, and the dark greys of the granite, form a harmony of exquisite softness. The little church of the convent of Loyos at Evora is also faced to its entire height with a fine revetment of *azulejos*. The compositions represent episodes in the *Life of San Lourenço*, and are signed *Antonius ab Oliva fecit, 1711.*

*THE ART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*.—The civil war between Dona Maria II. da Gloria and Dom Miguel, which was brought to an end in 1833 by the Convention of Evoramonte, checked the impetus João V. had given to the arts. Nevertheless,

the Portuguese school of painting woke from its lethargy. Setting aside Sanchez Coelho, whom the Spaniards claim under the name of Coello, and who, indeed, belongs to the close of the sixteenth century (*sup. pp. 251 and 333*), Portugal can boast Diego Pereira, Gioseffo de Alevar (c. 1640), Manoel Pereira (c. 1667), Bento Coelho (1680), all painters of talent, and Josefa Ayalla de Obidos (1634—1684), whose *Flower* and *Fruit* pieces and *Infant Christs* are very pleasing.

In the eighteenth century, Francisco Vieira de Mattos advanced nobly in the paths

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the Palace of Ajuda was begun in the reign of João VI. (1816–1826), during the brief years of peace which followed his return from Brazil (1820). J. da Costa e Silva, and then two Italians, Fabri and Antonio Francisa Rosa, were its architects successively. But when in 1836 Maria II. married Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a new era of prosperity dawned on Portugal. The theatre of Dona Maria II. was begun in 1826 from the plans and under the direction of an Italian architect ; the *Mudejar* castle of La Pena, which crowns a lofty peak above Cintra, was undertaken by a German, General Baron Eschwege. The Lisbon Town Hall, built in 1866 (Fig. 680), the Exchange at Oporto, and the curious palace of Berjoeria (1806–1828), as well as the Santa Casa da Misericordia at Vizeu (Fig. 681), in which the involved style of the eighteenth century has survived, must also be mentioned.

Generally speaking, the buildings of this period are dull, without character or distinction, and invite the criticisms levelled at the pseudo-classic structures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (*sup. pp. 337, 344*). There seem to have been over many captains, colonels, and generals in the camp of the architects, or the architects appear to have abdicated in favour of foremen and contractors. Then, throughout the country, window-frames, instead of being fixed inside the surface, were set flush with the external walls, so that no shadow, no play of light, relieves the monotony of the façades. The attempts made to break away from inveterate tradition were not very happy, save in a few country-houses, where the younger school resuscitated national forms (Fig. 682).



FIG. 679.—THE SONG OF SONGS. PORCELAIN REVETMENT.

(Cloisters of the Cathedral of Oporto.)  
(Author's Phot.)

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FIG. 680.—LISBON. TOWN HALL.  
(Phot. Rocchini.)

under surfaces of eaves a bright vermilion. The effect is very original, especially as the roofs are occasionally white-washed to counteract the heat.

The *Genius of the Nation Crowning Camoëns*, by Francisco d'Assise Rodriguez (Fig. 727), and a few works of the middle of the nineteenth century are academic pieces of sculpture. The monument to *Ecá de Queiros*, the *Saint Isidore of Seville* (Fig. 683), *The Widow*, and *Bacchus* (Fig. 684) of Teixeira Lopez make their author the worthy heir of Machado. As to Soares do Reis with *The Exile*, Moruín Rato with *Cain*, and several other sculptors and medallists, they represent, in Portugal, the

fine tradition of the French school. Raphaël Bordallo Pinheiro was primarily a caricaturist of much talent.

In the domain of painting, José Vital, Branco Mahoma, Silva Porto, Simões d'Almeida, Souza Pinto, Malhoa and Salgado enjoy a well-deserved reputation. Bordallo Pinheiro is a vigorous and original artist. His portraits (Fig. 686), some accomplished



FIG. 681.—VIZEU. SANTA CASA DA MISERICORDIA.  
(Author's Phot.)

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studies, the historical pictures in the Arsenal (Fig. 685) are works of a very high order. They are distinguished by a simplicity and mastery of execution which recall the simplified manner of Velazquez, and sober colour in which tints broken by black predominate, suggesting El Greco.

I know not whether it would be legitimate to include the paving of the public roads among the minor arts. But if only as an example of happy initiative, I must mention the gigantic mosaics, the borders and backgrounds of which are ornamented with designs in black and white paving-stones. Some of these are very handsome, notably at Lisbon, on the great square of Pedro IV., commonly called the Rocio. The very marked success of this experiment has induced me to mention it, the more so because, with the exception of porcelain tiles, the traditional gold filigree ornaments manufactured for the rich farmers' wives of the Minho, and the fishwives of Oporto, and the lace of Peniche, the decorative works of art produced by Portuguese workshops are all copied from French or English models. We seem to be gradually approaching a time when everyone will wear the same costumes, cultivate the same arts, and perhaps speak the same language. God grant that the ethnical characteristics of the various races may not also disappear! The monotony of the world would then be appalling.



FIG. 682.—RAUL LINO, VILLA NEAR LISBON.



FIG. 683.—TEIXEIRA LOPEZ,  
SAINT ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.  
(WOOD).

(Museum of Lisbon.)

(Author's Phot.)

# ART IN PORTUGAL



FIG. 684.—TEIXEIRA LOPEZ.  
BACCHUS.

Oporto, 1875; José de Figueiredo, *Evolução da Arte em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1098; *O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1909; Augusto Fuschini, *A Arqui-Relig. da Edade Media*, Lisbon, 1904; Pola Grey, *Portugalia*; Albrecht Haupt, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Portugal*, Frankfort, 1894; Francisco de Hollanda, *Manuscritos da Bibliothèque Jésus de Lisboa (XVIIth)*; A Herculano de Cavaelho, *Portugalis monumenta historica*, numerous editions from 1850 to 1875; Hieronymi Osorii Lusitanus, Silvensis in Algarvii episcop., *De Rebus Emmanuelis*, etc., Cologne, 1597; *Ilustração Portugueza*; J. de V., *A Pintura portugueza nos sec. XV e XVI*, Oporto, 1881; C. Justi, *Die portugiesische Malerei des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Jahrbuch königl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen), 1888, and *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1886; John Latouche, *Travels in Portugal*; *Portugal old and new*; Francisco Xavier Lobo, *Dialogos sobre a Pintura* (eighteenth century); Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memórias relativas as vidas dos Pintores*, Lisbon, 1823; Frey Manoel de Maria Santíssima, *História do Real Convento de Varallo* (eighteenth century); James Murphy, *History and Description of the Royal Convent of Batalha*, London, 1792; *Travels in Portugal*, London, 1795; Felipe Núñez, *Arte de Pintura*, 1615; *Notas sobre Portugal Exp. nac. do Rio de Janeiro* 1908, Lisbon, 1909; Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi, *Abecedário Pittorico accrescimento da Pietro Guarienti*, Venice, 1853; J. D. Passavant, *Die christliche Kunst in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1853; *Traité des Tableaux flamands qui existent en Portugal*; Gabriel Pereira, *Estudos Eborenses (Bellas Artes, Évora, 1886)*; *A Collecção dos Codices com Illuminuras da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*, Lisbon, 1904; *Portugal contingente*.

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FIG. 685.—COLUMBIANO BÓRDALO PINHEIRO  
IGNEZ DE CASTRO.

(Arsenal do Exército, Lisbon.)  
(Phot. Arnaldo Fonseca.)

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FIG. 686.—COLUMBANO BORDALO PINHEIRO.  
PORTRAIT OF BATHALA REIS.



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